CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

VIRGIL

AENEID

BOOK VIII

EDITED BY K.W. GRANSDEN

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

VIRGIL

AENEID

BOOK VIII

EDITED BY
K. W. GRANSDEN
Formerly Reader in English and Comparative Literary Studies,
University of Warwick

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

First published 1976
Eighth printing 2003

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 521 21113 1 hardback
ISBN 0 521 29047 3 paperback

CONTENTS

PREFACE

It is perhaps surprising that *Aeneid* VIII should have received comparatively little individual critical attention. Klingner called book VIII the most Virgilian book of the poem. It can certainly claim to be the most varied and attractive, containing as it does the magnificently told story of Hercules and Cacus, and the incomparable 'walk round the site of Rome'; while in the great closing ecphrasis Virgil reveals the purpose and intention of the *Aeneid* more fully than he does in any other book except perhaps the sixth and twelfth. The literary influence of book VIII has been considerable (though less than that of book IV). Nowhere else in the poem does Virgil range so freely through history, religion, mythology and topography. This will be evident from the pages which follow, as also will be the size of my general debt to my predecessors.

Warde Fowler's *Aeneas at the site of Rome* discussed only selected passages, though with a humane learning and insight which remain exemplary. A text with brief notes by Mlle Guillemin appeared in 1935; more recently, Bertha Tilly's *The story of Pallas* took selected passages from books VIII to XII. Binder's *Aeneas und Augustus* is not an edition but an exhaustive purely historical commentary on certain sections of book VIII. My own work has been greatly helped by the recent editions of individual books by Professors Austin and Williams. Norden on VI remains indispensable: I have also used Conway on I. Among complete commentaries the most recent, that of Williams, appeared only when my work was virtually complete. Henry provided (as usual) a few brilliant insights amid much which seems dull and irrelevant. Only one translation is referred to, and that is Dryden's. It has grave faults: Dryden was the first to admit that his was not *anima naturaliter Virgiliana* (Wordsworth in a letter to Scott, 7 November 1805, truly observed that Dryden 'has neither a tender heart nor a lofty sense of moral dignity'). Nevertheless, it remains, with its post-Miltonic energy and drive, the only English version which can lay claim to classic status – the full flowering of renaissance England's cultivation of Virgil through nearly two centuries.

Among the many essays and books on Virgil, I would single out

F. W. H. Myers's 'Virgil', Norden's 'Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit', Drew's pioneering study *The allegory of the Aeneid*, Camps's *Introduction* and the work, important in such different ways, of Knauer and Pöschl. On the topography, Lugli's monumental *Itinerario di Roma Antica* proved valuable, while Ogilvie's *Commentary on Livy 1–5* gave me much-needed help with early Roman history. The books mentioned here constitute only a beginning, but no one who is acquainted with them can be quite ignorant of what is involved in working on Virgil. *me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores*...

It remains to acknowledge debts of a more personal kind. Professor R. D. Williams read through the draft of my Introduction and made a number of valuable suggestions and corrected many errors, thereby compounding the debt I already owe him for his edition of book III. Dr N. M. Horsfall read through the manuscript of the Commentary and of the Introduction, made many corrections and gave me much scholarly and bibliographical information which I would otherwise have missed. Help on particular problems came from Professor A. A. Long and the editors of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. The Director and Secretary of the British School at Rome made the resources of the Rome room freely available to me. In this connection I should like to express my thanks to the Faculty Board of Classics of the University of Cambridge for a grant towards that visit to Rome which also enabled me to refresh my memories of the topography. I must also thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press and Sir Roger Mynors for permission to reprint the latter's text of *Aeneid* VIII and to depart from that text in a few places listed in the Note on the Text. Finally, I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Kenney, both for the example of his own edition of Lucretius III in this series, and also for his unstinting advice, help and encouragement at every stage of this edition. Without his support, it would never have been undertaken, let alone finished. He and Mrs P. E. Easterling have saved me from more errors than I care to remember.

University of Warwick K.W.G.
August 1975

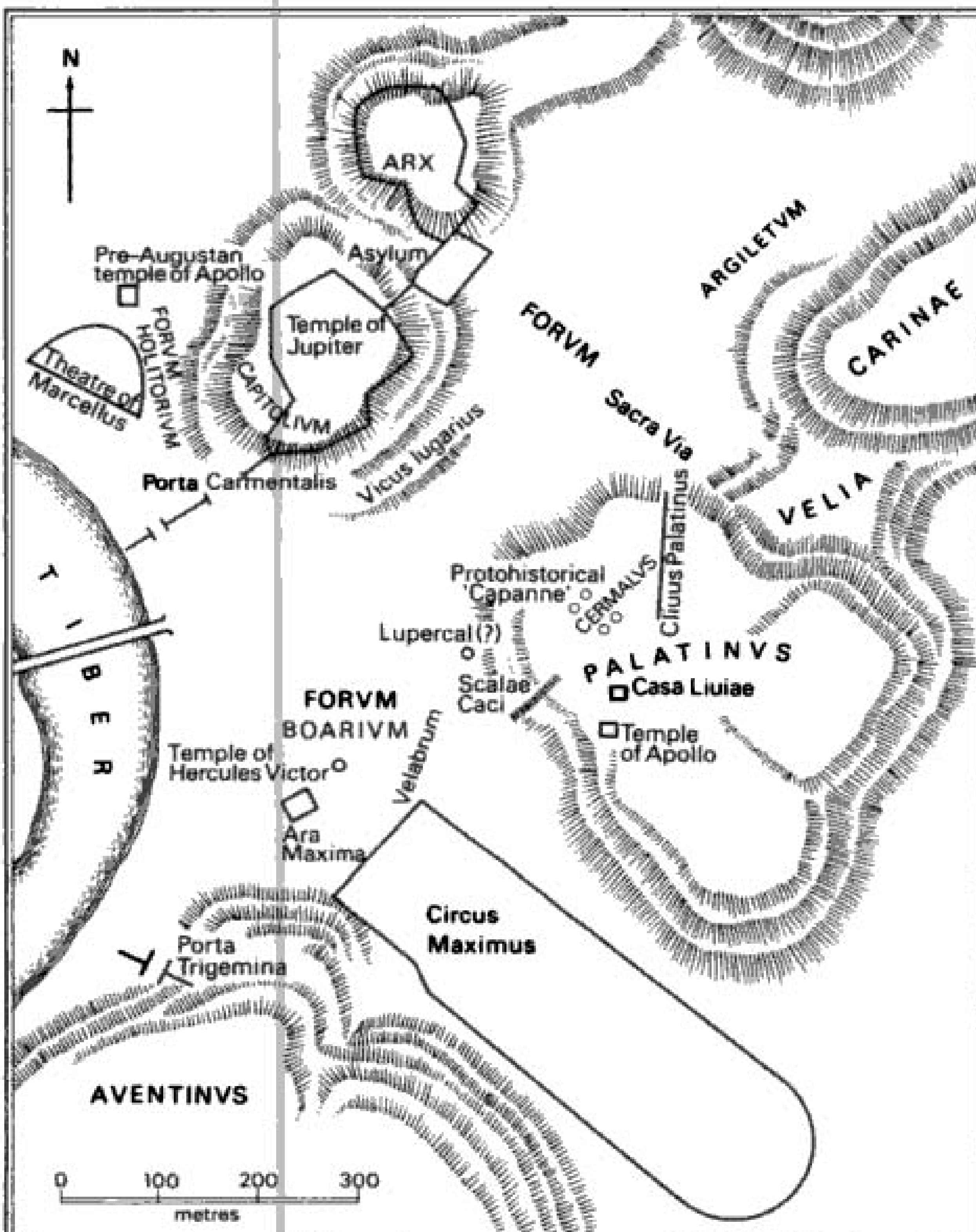
NOTE. This preface was written, and my work completed, before the appearance of P. T. Eden's edition of book VIII (Leiden 1975).

Our destiny, our nature, and our home
Is with infinitude, and only there;
With hope it is, hope that can never die,
Effort, and expectation, and desire,
And something evermore about to be.

WORDSWORTH, *Prelude* 6.538–42

History...is a looking both before and after; as, indeed, the coming Time already waits, unseen, yet definitely shaped, predetermined and inevitable, in the Time come; and only by the combination of both is the meaning of either completed.

CARLYLE, *On History*



The site of Rome.

INTRODUCTION

1. VIRGIL'S CAREER AND REPUTATION

Publius Vergilius Maro became a classic in his own lifetime and remained so throughout antiquity, as witness the splendid manuscripts of his works written in rustic capitals and the commentary of Servius (fourth–fifth centuries A.D.) which contains the beginnings of an entire tradition of allegorical exegesis. The profound veneration in which he was held during the middle ages is shown in his 'awakening' by Dante in the *Divine Comedy* – a unique piece of literary homage. To the hierarchic and genre-conscious poets of the renaissance Virgil's became the exemplary model of the poet's career, an ordered progression from humble pastoral to grand epic, imitated by Spenser, whose *Shepherd's Calendar* corresponds to the *Eclogues* and whose epic *The Faerie Queene* begins with a 'reluctant' apology for undertaking heroic verse modelled on the 'ille ego' quatrain quoted by Servius and Virgil's biographer Donatus[1] as the original opening of the *Aeneid*.[2] A similar, perhaps even greater, indebtedness may be seen in Milton, both in his pastoral poem *Lycidas* and in *Paradise Lost*. In the renaissance Virgil was generally regarded as the first and greatest of those who imitated Homer in their own vernacular, inferior to Homer in 'invention', but superior to him in 'art' or style. During the eighteenth century the movement towards naturalism and away from neo-classical formalism, together with a renaissance in Homeric studies after nearly two millennia of Latin-dominated culture, caused Virgil's reputation to decline a little, though it was not seriously impugned; Tennyson's poem 'To Virgil' testifies to his continuing appeal to the romantic sensibility. In 1912 H. W. Garrod[3] wrote 'It is

[1] This work is generally thought to be based on Suetonius, *De uiris illustribus*. A translation is in Camps 111–20.

[2] On the 'cancelled' opening quatrain see Austin's ed. of *Aen.* I, where it is argued that the vv. are spurious (see also Camps 121–3). Conway believed them to have been genuine, but deleted by V. himself, a view which has recently been re-argued by P. A. Hansen, *C.Q.* N.S. 22 (1972) 139–48.

[3] Garrod's essay is in *English literature and the classics*, ed. G. S. Gordon (Oxford 1912).

a modern fashion to disparage Virgil' and defended him by gestures towards his 'romanticism' – his 'failure to attain', the conflict in his work, 'this quarrel within itself of a mystical and romantic genius working unsatisfied within the limits of a formal classicism, never quite confident, never wholly efficient'. A modern dissentient voice is that of Robert Graves,[1] whose attack on Virgil as the 'Establishment' poet *par excellence*, wholly lacking in originality, humour and vitality, might have been salutary were it not marred by gibes at his lack of military experience and at his (probable) homosexuality. The last word in these frigid and scholastic debates on Homer *v.* Virgil may perhaps be C. S. Lewis's: he pointed out that if Virgil is to be regarded as a bad Homer, then Homer must be regarded as an even worse Virgil.

The main facts of the poet's life are well authenticated and need only the briefest recapitulation here. Born near Mantua in 70 B.C., shy and retiring by temperament, a lover of the country and a student of philosophy, he became the friend of Horace, Maecenas and Augustus. The canon of his compositions, all written in hexameters, consists of[2] (1) the *Eclogues*, or bucolics, ten short pastoral poems modelled on Theocritus, published in 37 B.C.; (2) the *Georgics*, a didactic epic in four books in praise of the Italian countryside and Italian farming, modelled on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, published in 30 B.C.; (3) the *Aeneid*, a patriotic heroic epic in twelve books, begun about 30 B.C., of which the principal models are the two Homeric epics.

To say that Virgil used Greek models is not to deny him originality. Indeed, it is precisely in the way he transcended his models that his originality lies. The Greeks had invented and classified the main literary genres (history, tragedy, pastoral, didactic and heroic epic, etc.) and Roman literary culture was throughout dominated by Greek models. The relationship between the Latin work and its Greek model is primarily generic: the Roman writer learned from his exemplar what kind of thing might be put in, or must be left out, in order to preserve the decorum proper to the genre. Greek literature also set standards of excellence in each of the genres which the Romans sought to emulate. In no other sense, however, can Virgil's

[1] *Oxford addresses on poetry* (1962) 29–53.

[2] None of the poems in the so-called *Appendix Vergiliana* can with certainty be ascribed to V.

works be said to be 'like' their models, least of all when he is imitating a particular episode or effect: indeed, when we speak of 'imitation' we should more properly speak of allusion; Virgil, like most Roman writers, wrote primarily for a learned and sophisticated audience, who, recognising the sources of a passage, would be equipped to appreciate how Virgil had synthesised and transcended them. Moreover, not only the Latin temper, but the Latin language and hexameter, are unlike the Greek. Virgil's three compositions are more like each other than they are like their various models, being unified by the personality and style of their author. In his mixture of charm and high seriousness, his sense of landscape, his profound sensitivity to the light and shade of human life, the *breue et inreparabile tempus*, in his ability to convey intense feeling, he is quite unlike his Greek predecessors, even the Alexandrian writers of the Hellenistic era who were so fashionable in Rome in his time; for although these writers to some extent anticipated and inspired Virgil's *Kunstsprache* and his romanticism, they contributed nothing to his patriotism, his sense of Rome's moral destiny, *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*. That sentiment, and many others in Virgil, seemed to later readers, from St Augustine onwards, to have more in common with the formulas of the about-to-be-inaugurated Christian era than with the culture of Greece. Above all, Virgil differs from the Greeks in his *tone*, and in his attitude to life, war and suffering. This might best be illustrated by a detailed study of the magnificent eleventh book, the most 'Iliadic' in the poem and yet the least Homeric. A single example from that book must suffice. Aeneas is speaking at the funeral of Evander's son Pallas, who had been entrusted to his care at 8.514–17:

> non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti
> discedens dederam, cum me complexus euntem
> mitteret in magnum imperium metuensque moneret
> acris esse uiros, cum dura proelia gente.
> et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani
> fors et uota facit cumulatque altaria donis,
> nos iuuenem exanimum et nil iam caelestibus ullis
> debentem uano maesti comitamur honore. (11.45–52)

'Ille' in 49 is Evander who does not yet know that his son is dead. Virgil draws intense poignancy from the contrast between the father's

ignorance, his empty prayers for his son's safety, and the reality of the funeral cortège. The Iliadic model for this dramatic irony is that moment in book XXII when Andromache, unaware that Hector is dead, prepares his bath. Virgil has altered the homely and domestic preparation, so typical of Homer, into something characteristically Roman, a religious rite.

When Virgil died at Brindisi on his way home to Italy from a visit to Greece, in 19 B.C., the *Aeneid* was more or less finished, but he had intended to spend a further three years revising and improving it before devoting the rest of his life to philosophy. His death-bed instructions that the still unrevised manuscript be destroyed were set aside, and in accordance with the wishes of Augustus the poem was published posthumously to immediate and continuing critical acclaim, seeming to justify even the patriotically hyperbolic enthusiasm of Propertius, *nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*, the first recorded instance in literary history of 'advance publicity'.

2. THE AENEID

(i) STRUCTURE

Each of the poem's twelve books is to some degree a self-contained composition with its own special tone and theme, and can be read as a separate entity. Yet each book can equally only be fully understood if related to other books and to the poem as a whole. This is not only for the obvious reason that the poem is a continuous narrative, but also because it is so organised that ideas, events, images, echo in correspondence and antithesis from one part to another, in a complex system of parallelism and cross-reference. This 'encyclopaedic' structure is characteristic of epics, which memorialise the world-picture, both historical and symbolic, of the culture which produced them. But the structure of the *Aeneid* surpasses in complexity that of any previous surviving epic and is equalled (if at all) only by the epics of Dante, Spenser and Milton, who all wrote in avowed homage to, or imitation of, Virgil.

That the poet himself planned the work in two linked parts is clear from the words of the second *inuocatio* placed near, but not at, the beginning of VII (37ff.): *Nunc age . . . Erato . . . dicam horrida bella* | *. . . maior*

rerum mihi nascitur ordo, | maius opus moueo.[1] The second part contains the 'greater matter' of heroic warfare; in it Virgil had at last to face the challenge and example of the *Iliad*. The scene is no longer set in foreign lands, Greece and Carthage, location of Aeneas' 'Odyssean' wanderings, but in Latium, in and around Rome. Yet it must be said at once that the commonly repeated view that books I–VI constitute Virgil's 'Odyssey' and books VII–XII his 'Iliad' is an over-simplification. It is of course true that the themes of travelling and fighting dominate respectively the first and second parts of the poem, that these themes are the subject of the two Homeric epics (though reversing the Homeric sequence, since Odysseus' wanderings follow the *Iliad*) and that, just as fighting is a grander and more tragic heroic subject than travelling, so the last six books of the *Aeneid* aspire to the tragic and concentrated grandeur of the *Iliad* rather than to the more diffused atmosphere of the 'marvellous' which characterises the *Odyssey*. But to say, as Highet does (*The speeches of the Aeneid* 187), that the second half of Virgil's epic is Iliadic because it offers a pattern of arrival, combat and victory is to invite the comment that this pattern is no less Odyssean than Iliadic. *Aeneid* II (the fall of Troy), though structurally Odyssean, being a personal reminiscence of the hero's, is wholly Iliadic in its tragic intensity; *Aeneid* V (funeral games) is modelled on *Iliad* XXIII; *Aeneid* XII is both Iliadic in that it re-enacts the Achilles–Hector–Patroclus situation, and Odyssean in that in it Aeneas kills the suitor of his fiancée Lavinia and completes his post-Trojan adventures by assuming the undisputed kingship of the land from which his ancestors once came. Pöschl noted (28) that of the so-called Iliadic books of the *Aeneid*, VII and VIII are the least Iliadic; but he did not note the extent to which VIII is Odyssean, in tone, purpose and structure. Aeneas' journey to Pallanteum and his sojourn with Evander corresponds both to Telemachus' journey to Pylos and sojourn with Nestor and to Odysseus' own sojourn with Eumaeus *in rebus egenis* after his landfall in Ithaca. It also contains reminiscences of another heroic journey, Jason's, the subject of the best-known of the

[1] The central lines of the poem as we have it are 7.193–4, depicting Latinus on the throne of his ancestors: see A. Fowler, *Triumphal forms* (1970) 62ff., where, however, it is admitted that no authorial intention can be inferred from this fact since the poem is unrevised and its total length cannot be precisely authenticated. On the principle of centrality in Latin poetry see Williams, *TORP* 233–9.

later Greek epics, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius: the magic shield to which Aeneas is guided in book VIII corresponds to the Golden Fleece, though the shield itself is an Iliadic object, being modelled on Achilles' shield in *Iliad* XVIII. At the moment when Aeneas gazes on it, the poem begins to rise to the full Iliadic structure of its last four books.[1]

Various formal and thematic parallels may be detected between the first and second parts of the poem. Carthage in I–IV is the anti-type of Rome in VIII; the fall of Troy in II stands against the beginnings of Rome in VIII; Aeneas' *mésalliance* with Dido in IV is con rasted to his fated alliance (blessed by his first wife Creusa) with Lavinia in VII.[2] A complete set of correspondences and parallels between the two parts is given by Duckworth.[3] Those which involve book VIII are noted where relevant both in the Introduction and the Commentary.

Triadic divisions have also been observed, both in the poem as a whole and in individual books. (Triadic organisation was a common feature of ancient literature, e.g. the odes of Pindar.)[4] Each 'half' of the poem may be seen as a set of three linked pairs of books. The poem as a whole may also be symmetrically divided into three 'blocks', I–IV, V–VIII, IX–XII (Mackail, Pöschl); this triadic structure can be made to yield further correspondences, e.g. between the 'climactic' books IV, VIII, XII.[5] Duckworth has

[1] A full catalogue of Virgil's allusions to Homer is given by Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer*. An invaluable English summary of his findings is given by him in 'Virgil's Aeneid and Homer', *G.R.B.S.* 5 (1964) 64–84.

[2] This correspondence – a 'marriage' in each half of the poem – was noted by the renaissance critic Sebastianus Regulus in his Commentary on *Aen.* I: see Fowler, *Triumphal forms* 6, and R. Cummings, 'Two Sixteenth-century notices of numerological composition in the *Aeneid*', *N. & Q.* 214 (1969) 26–7.

[3] G. E. Duckworth, *Structural patterns and proportions in Vergil's Aeneid* (1962) 1–10.

[4] V. made extensive use of the triad: see App. A, Comm. 714–16, 729–31, Fowler, *Death of Turnus* 2, the triple visitation of Allecto in book VII.

[5] Camps, 57–60, argues that V–IX are linked because each contains a major Homeric episode (games, underworld, Catalogue, shield, Doloneia) and because since the events of VIII and IX are partly contemporaneous there can be no break at the end of VIII: cf. Heinze 455, Otis 419. But the break at the end of VIII is a dramatic and psychological climax (Comm. 731) which imposes itself as a major pause in the movement of the poem as a whole, and it seems perverse to set this aside in order to produce an asymmetrical grouping based on an unconnected 'sequence' of Homeric episodes.

argued that these triadic divisions were mathematically planned by Virgil in accordance with the ratio known as the Pythagorean golden section or 'divine proportion'.[1]

Book VIII has a clearly defined triadic structure which may be set out as follows:

1. 1–369	A. 1–101	(1) 1–17 Prelude: events in Latium
		(2) 18–85 Aeneas in camp: vision of Tiberinus and sacrifice of sow
		(3) 86–101 Aeneas' journey up the Tiber to Evander's settlement of Pallanteum on the site of Rome
	B. 102–369	(1) 102–83 Aeneas' arrival at Pallanteum
		(2) 184–305 Evander tells the story of Hercules and Cacus
		(3) 306–69 The walk round the site of Rome: end of Aeneas' first day with Evander
2. 370–453		(1) 370–406 The beguiling of Vulcan by Venus
		(2) 407–23 Vulcan's journey from Olympus to the Cyclopes' cave
		(3) 424–53 The forging of the arms
3. 454–731		(1) 454–584 The next day: Aeneas' farewell to Evander
		(2) 585–625 Aeneas' ride to Caere: Venus presents the arms
		(3) 626–731 The description of the shield.[2]

[1] *Structural patterns*, *passim*. This theory was first put forward *à propos* the *Georgics* by Le Grelle: see L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (1969) 318. But although a knowledge of Pythagorean number-symbolism was assumed by ancient writers (see, e.g., the end of Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* 36), there is no evidence that 'divine proportion' was ever used as the basis of a large-scale literary composition. The numerological hypotheses put forward in recent years in respect of poems by the English renaissance poets, especially Spenser, do not provide a parallel.

[2] This ecphrasis is itself triadic in structure (Comm. 626–731) and ends with a three-line 'coda'.

But the poem's divisions merely articulate its formal and thematic unity. Like Milton, 'long choosing and beginning late',[1] Virgil finally took as the subject of his heroic epic Aeneas' flight from Troy, his arrival in Latium and his emergence as *dux* and *uictor*. Yet the poem's real theme was seen by its earliest readers to be the origins of Rome and of Augustus, events which lie far apart from each other and far outside the legendary time in which the story of Aeneas is set. Donatus' *Life* makes this clear: 'argumentum uarium ac multiplex et quasi amborum Homeri carminum instar, praeterea nominibus ac rebus Graecis Latinisque commune, et in quo, quod studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur.' Not only was Virgil's literary aim the linking of two cultures, his own and that of Greece; he also had a 'mythographical' aim, the establishment of the legend of Aeneas as the authentic story of Rome's origins, ousting or absorbing all other legends, and a political aim, the linking of Aeneas with the new ruler Augustus. This last aim was achieved by the use of a figurative device which we may call typology: Aeneas is presented in the poem as the prefiguration of Augustus, and the poem's function, like that of the opening books of Livy's history, is not simply to recreate the remote past but to see in that past exemplary parallels with, or paradigms of, the present.

The poem's structure may thus be called both 'teleological' and 'cyclical'.[2] It is teleological because its 'end' or '*telos*' is the founding of Rome and its preservation by Augustus. It is cyclical because until the culminating event represented by the Augustan settlement, the processes of time are seen, as they were seen by all the ancient historians, as a series of 'cycles'. In *Aeneid* 1.267–96 Jupiter foretells

[1] *P.L.* 9.26: cf. the *Life*, 'nouissime Aeneidem incohauit'. The opening of *Ecl.* 6 suggests that V. may have planned an epic on traditional Roman annalistic lines at an early date (cf. Servius on *Ecl.* 6.3): it would, at least, be unwise to dismiss the 'autobiographical' passages in V. as mere imitations of Alexandrian literary convention. The prologue to *Georgics* 3 (Comm. 626–731) further suggests that a subsequent epic was to have been centred on the career of Augustus; V. may have abandoned this in favour of a more Homeric theme in which history should be subordinated to myth, in conformity with Aristotelian theory of the proper nature of poetry: see Norden, *VLZ* 407–15.

[2] These two readings of history are, perhaps, ultimately irreconcilable, and the poem's ambivalence may be in part due to this. On what is said here cf. Otis, 'Virgil and Clio', *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 59–75.

that peace will be established between the peoples of Latium under Aeneas' descendant Augustus: the personification of Furor, bound and chained like a captive in a Roman triumph (as depicted on Aeneas' shield at the end of the book VIII), ends the prophecy and provides an organising image of the entire poem. In *Aeneid* XII, Jupiter presides over what is only a stage in this dénouement (though it is the point where the poem as narrative ends): the killing by Aeneas of Turnus, the poem's chief, but not sole embodiment of Furor. It is clear from book VIII that, just as Aeneas' settlement of Latium has had earlier prefigurations, beginning with that of Saturn, whose reign in Latium corresponded to the Hesiodic myth of the 'golden age', so it in its turn provides a paradigm of the settlement of Augustus. It is also clear that for Virgil the Augustan settlement is the culmination of a cyclical series: 'hic uir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis' – the 'Messianic' tone of these words in *Aen.* VI and of Jupiter's *imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris* in *Aen.* I, was adapted by Milton in *Paradise Lost* to describe the coming of Christ. We need not attribute any 'prophetic' intimations to Virgil: it is only necessary to note that the Greek concept of the 'saviour', the mortal hero deified after death, was widely current in the last centuries before Christ; the myth of Hercules, which has a central place in *Aeneid* VIII, is the most famous embodiment of this idea. But it cannot be denied that in the *Aeneid* Virgil seems to have transcended the cyclical view of history. For him the value of the past lies in the fact that it leads towards a divinely-ordained goal, the triumphant fulfilment by Augustus of that 'empire without end' prophesied by Jupiter in *Aen.* I: the return or restoration of the golden or 'Apollonian' age which Servius, in his commentary on the fourth Eclogue (Virgil's famous pastoral vision of the golden age restored), saw as the 'ultimum saeclum', the culmination of a cycle.

With what should happen after Augustus the *Aeneid* is not concerned. The events towards which the poem moves (Augustus' victory at Actium and subsequent triumph) are not 'final'; even with regard to Augustus (the untimely death of whose heir Marcellus is lamented in book VI) it is only proper to speak of 'an end'. The word *finis* occurs often in the poem in reference to the promised 'end' of Aeneas' labours and of Juno's hostility towards what is ordained

by destiny and by Jupiter as the agent and co-ordinator of destiny. The lives and deeds of heroes must end with their deification: only an abstraction, *imperium* itself, the Roman mission to rule, is said in the poem to be 'without end'.

It is of the nature of all epic poems, even Homer's, that they can be read on more than one level, that is, allegorically. Virgil, like most of his contemporaries, hoped and believed that under Augustus those ideals of order and civilisation towards which man continually aspires would be more fully realised than under previous régimes. The vision which sustains and dominates the *Aeneid* is the closing of the gap between aspiration and achievement, the transcendence, with divine aid, of man's limitations. For the modern reader, who has lived through the decline and fall of other 'empires without end', the poem's greatness lies, perhaps, in a sense that this ultimate vision trembles perpetually on the brink of realisation. The doubts ands criticisms which the poem as a political statement raises are embodied in, and become part of, the poem's larger meaning as a statement about the moral evolution of mankind.

When we have said that Aeneas is a type or prefiguration of Augustus we have, after all, done very little to explain why the *Aeneid* is still a great poem in the twentieth century, which cares no more for Augustus than for Aeneas – perhaps, if anything, rather less. For all its facetiousness, W. H. Auden's poem 'Secondary Epic' which condemns Virgil's art as a 'muse betrayed' by subservience to the Augustan political programme, offers a salutary if unintentional *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument that the *Aeneid* sees nothing beyond that programme and that its effect is therefore nullified by history. Virgil's sense of the past continually checks and modifies his vision of the future. The ruins of former settlements which Evander shows Aeneas in 8.355–7 comment with silent yet eloquent irony on the *urbs mansura* and show that all political solutions are 'for the time being'. Moreover, although the *Aeneid* is an epic poem on the traditional heroic theme of war, no poetry, not even Wilfred Owen's, has expressed an intenser hatred of war. For Virgil, the desire to kill is, quite simply, insane, and he says so, of Turnus, in book IX: *furor . . . caedisque insana cupido*. It is with violence, death, and sacrilege that the poem ends. We have to turn back to book I to remind ourselves of Jupiter's prophecy of peace, when

Furor impius intus
saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aënis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

(ii) AENEAS

Aeneas was a Trojan hero in the *Iliad*, who survived the war 'that the race of Dardanus might not perish' (*Iliad* 20.308, Comm. 731). He was not the only such survivor who traditionally settled in Italy, though Virgil insists that he was the first to settle in Latium;[1] Antenor is presented as having already settled on the Adriatic coast, thus providing Venus with a cause for complaint against Jupiter for withholding a similar peaceful destiny from her own son Aeneas.[2] From among the victorious Greeks there occurred similar migrations: Diomede is already settled when Aeneas comes (Comm. 9ff.); Odysseus also passed through, though he did not stay, becoming, according to Greek tradition, the founder of the Latin race.[3] A legend also existed that Dardanus, founder of the royal house of Troy, was born in Italy (Comm. 134ff.), and Virgil uses this legend to transform Aeneas' arrival into a '*nostos*' (homecoming) modelled on the return of Odysseus in Homer.[4] This was of the greatest importance dynastically. As a culture-hero and founder of the Roman nation, Aeneas came from outside, came, indeed, like Saturn long before (Comm. 315–27) as an exile; but the *dux externus*, whose coming the prophecies had foretold (Comm. 503) also genealogically 'belonged' and thus entered into his rightful heritage, becoming *dux* not by usurpation or by conquest but by lawful election. So too Augustus returned in triumph to Rome in August 29 B.C. after two years in the east

[1] *Aen.* 1.1. See G. K. Galinsky, 'Troiae qui primus ab oris', *Latomus* 28 (1969) 1–18.

[2] *Aen.* 1.250–3. See Wlosok 32–54. Cf. also Aen.'s visit to Helenus, son of Priam, and Andromache, 3.294ff., and his parting words to them, 3.493ff.: '*uiuite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta | iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata uocamur. | uobis parta quies . . .*'

[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 1011–16. On Odysseus and Italy see E. D. Phillips, *J.H.S.* 73 (1953) 53–67.

[4] On Aen.'s homecoming cf. the words of the oracle of Apollo at 3.94–6 *quae uos a stirpe parentum | prima tulit tellus, eadem uos ubere laeto | accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.* Anchises misinterprets the riddle to refer to Crete, homeland of the Trojan king Teucer.

following the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, a westward journey like that of his heroic predecessor. Another tradition, that the Trojans were themselves of Greek origin, is also alluded to by Virgil (Comm. 156) and serves to emphasise the unity of the Homeric world from whose ashes Rome sprang.

The revival of the Aeneas legend (which probably came to Rome via Etruria) was inspired by religious, political and cultural motives. On the religious level, Aeneas' *pietas* both towards the gods and towards his family, especially his father and son, is stressed by Virgil throughout the poem and transforms Aeneas from a Homeric hero into a Roman one. But the legend also served to push Rome's mythical ancestry back behind the foundation of Lavinium and Alba Longa, her traditional ancestor-cities (App. A) to the Homeric bronze age. A number of important Roman families, among them the gens Julia from Alba Longa, to which Julius Caesar and his adopted son Augustus belonged, claimed Trojan descent. But although Virgil responded to Augustan social and political needs (as did Spenser, in his epic *The Faerie Queene*, to Elizabethan ones),[1] he was above all an artist and a philosopher of history; having chosen a Homeric hero for his poem he justified the choice and discharged his artistic debt by giving Aeneas a truly Homeric role in his poem. Virgil absorbs into the Aeneas of books I–VI Odysseus' traditional roles, of wanderer, exile and legendary founder of the Latin race (thus leaving himself free to present the 'Iliadic' Odysseus, in *Aeneid* II, as the chief villain of the sack of Troy). Moreover, the wars in Latium which fill the last four books of the poem not only prefigure Rome's actual or traditional conflicts with her neighbours from the time of Romulus onwards (and most recently, the civil wars); they are also truly a second *Iliad*,[2] with the final scene, the killing of Turnus by Aeneas in revenge for the death of Evander's son Pallas, modelled on the Achilles–Hector–Patroclus situation in the *Iliad*.

At various points in the poem Virgil puts into the mouths of Aeneas' enemies (Iarbas, Turnus, Numanus) sneering references to

[1] A parallel might be drawn between V.'s use of Aeneas and Spenser's use of Arthur, a legendary British hero revived in Tudor times for dynastic and cultural motives.

[2] See W. S. Anderson, 'Virgil's second Iliad', *T.A.P.A.* 88 (1957) 17–30.

him as a 'second Paris' with 'Lavinia disespoused'[1] in the role of Helen. But Aeneas is not a second Paris (though during his sojourn with Dido he reverted briefly to his 'Asiatic' origins), nor even a second Hector, for in him defeat is transformed into victory. Here the Sibyl's prophecy to Aeneas at 6.83ff. must be quoted in full, for it is central to an understanding of the structure and meaning of the poem:

> o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis
> (sed terrae grauiora manent), in regna Lauini
> Dardanidae uenient (mitte hanc de pectore curam),
> sed non et uenisse uolent. bella, horrida bella,
> et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
> non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
> defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
> natus et ipse[2] dea: nec Teucris addita Iuno
> usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
> quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraueris urbes!
> causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
> externique iterum thalami.
> tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
> qua tua te Fortuna sinet. uia prima salutis
> (quod minime reris) Graia pandetur ab urbe.

It will be noted elsewhere, both in the Introduction and the Commentary (e.g. on 143–5, 365) how these prophecies begin to come true in books VII and VIII. The 'Greek city' from which Aeneas' salvation is to come is Evander's settlement on the Palatine and is thus none other than Rome herself. But our immediate business here is with the Iliadic references. The second Achilles, already born in Latium, is Turnus; yet history does not repeat itself, as the poem proceeds the Iliadic roles are re-allocated. It is Aeneas who becomes Achilles, and this transformation begins in book VIII, when the 'Odyssean' wanderer and suppliant receives, as had Homer's Achilles, divine aid in the form of the shield. Such, indeed, is Virgil's

[1] Milton, *P.L.* 9.17. Lavinia was originally promised to Turnus. Her role as Helen is Iliadic; she is also a second Penelope. The dual typology is characteristic of V.

[2] *et ipse* carries an appropriate double meaning: in having a goddess for a mother Turnus resembles not only Achilles but also Aen. himself.

humanity and respect for Homeric tradition that he can even transfer to the doomed Turnus something of the pathos and dignity of Homer's doomed Hector. The Iliadic conflict is refought yet also transcended. The refusal of the Greek émigré Diomede to support Turnus and re-engage his old enemy (Comm. 9ff.) reflects the way in which the Homeric pattern of tribal feuding is breaking up, is being transformed even when (apparently) recurring. Man's propensity for evil, *priscae uestigia fraudis*, is not yet purged, but as in Greek tragedy the curse is working itself out, renewed conflict is the necessary prelude to 'peaceful co-existence'. Virgil's most famous statement of this idea is in the fourth Eclogue, 31–6, where the 'traces of former evil' make their last appearance, *atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles*, before the restoration of the 'golden age'.[1]

The revived Aeneas legend served Virgil as a paradigm of the role of Augustus as saviour of Rome from war and chaos. Virgil draws a parallel between the state of Latium in Aeneas' time, when the Trojans' peaceful mission is turned into a *casus belli* by the *furor* of Turnus, and the situation which faced Augustus and was resolved at the battle of Actium. When in book VIII Evander offers Aeneas voluntarily, and Aeneas accepts, the leadership of the people of Latium in defence of their ancient and violated peace, there is a prefiguration of Augustus' conflict with Antony, as described on the shield of Aeneas, 8.679 *hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar*, and as Augustus himself described it in his *Res Gestae* 25.5 *iurauit in mea uerba tota Italia sponte sua, et bello quo uici ad Actium ducem depoposcit.*

(iii) TYPOLOGY

As has been said, the structure of the *Aeneid* is both cyclical and teleological. The poems moves through vast periods of time, yet in another sense it is synchronic, not diachronic: that is, all the events in it, whether they fall within the temporality of the main (Aeneas) narrative or whether they occurred long before or long after Aeneas' time and are narrated indirectly (e.g. Evander's accounts of the first

[1] The recurrence of patterns from the Homeric past is central to the theme and technique of the *Aeneid*. Cf. Venus' speech to Jupiter, 10.26–9 *iterum...alter...iterum*, and 59–62 *Xanthum et Simoenta | redde, oro, miseris iterumque reuoluere casus | da, pater, Iliacos Teucris.*

settlement of Latium by Saturn and of Hercules' victory over Cacus, or the events depicted on Aeneas' shield), have a kind of 'simultaneity' (like archaeological 'layers') by their presence in the poem as a structure of interrelated images or exemplary 'types'.

Thus in book VIII there is a typological link between Rome's various enemies thoughout her post-Romulean history, depicted on Aeneas' shield, from Porsenna and Tarquinius to Antony and Cleopatra, and earlier enemies of civilisation, whether confronted by Aeneas himself (Turnus and Mezentius) or already disposed of before he came (Cacus, killed by Hercules). These enemies can be arranged as a series of exemplary types, culminating in Antony and Cleopatra, just as the city's various saviours and heroes may be arranged in a parallel series, from Saturn to Augustus. But what links the heroes is not solely, not even primarily, martial prowess. As Syme puts it (306) 'Not by conquest alone but by the foundation of a lasting city, did a hero win divine honours in life and divinity after death.' It is the hero's 'ktistic' (or 'founding') rather than his purely military function which Virgil emphasises throughout book VIII. It is in this book that Virgil uses, for the only time in the poem, the title *conditor*[1] (Comm. 313), significantly of Evander, founder of Pallanteum, the '*ur*-Rome', a man of peace. In the last book of the poem Aeneas proclaims that his own role when Trojans and Latins are united will be spiritual and ktistic: *mihi moenia Teucri | constituent urbique dabit Lauinia nomen.* The founding of a city is a religious act; the ritual of drawing the boundaries is symbolic of order and control, the clearing in the woods, the beating back of 'natural' barbarism. And the ktistic function and title were extended by the Greeks to benefactors who preserved and enlarged the city. The cult of Hercules, who 'cleared' the Aventine when he slew Cacus,[2] was established by Evander in the Forum Boarium, at the

[1] The title *conditor* (= Gk 'ktistes') does not seem to have been used before the time of Caesar: see S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1972) 183.

[2] O. Richmond, 'Palatine Apollo again', *C.Q.* N.S. 2 (1952) 180–4, suggested that the destruction of Cacus' house was an allegorical allusion to the destruction of Antony's house on the Palatine by a 'Reichstag fire' in 29 B.C., a necessary preliminary to Augustus' programme of rebuilding. Although V. transferred Cacus' cave to the Aventine he would have known the earlier tradition linking him with the Palatine, a link preserved in the Scalae Caci (see below, 3 (iii)).

entrance to the city which he had saved from a reversion to barbarism. The Roman triumph, in which the *triumphator* enters the city he has preserved in the likeness of a deity (Jupiter), is another symbolic ritual of great importance in *Aeneid* VIII, which culminates in a splendid description, on the shield of Aeneas, of the triple triumph which Augustus celebrated as saviour of the city in 29 B.C. Typologically, Hercules' victory over Cacus, and the ritual at the Ara Maxima established to commemorate it, constitute the first Roman triumph; Virgil links this in book VIII to Augustus' triumph by using the calendar. Aeneas arrives at Rome on 12 August (the day of the annual celebration of the Hercules rite). Augustus began his three-day triumph in 29 B.C. on 13 August.[1]

Rome's chief ktistic hero was, of course, Romulus, and Virgil brings him into the *Aeneid* three times: in Jupiter's prophecy in 1.275–7, in the vision of heroes in the Elysian fields, 6.777–87, and on the shield of Aeneas, 8.630–4. Virgil links Romulus to Augustus in a striking verbal parallel, *imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris* (Augustus, 1.287), *imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo* (Romulus' Rome, 6.782). Augustus saw himself as a second Romulus (as had Julius Caesar before him) and had even thought of taking the name Romulus, *quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis* (Suet. *Aug.* 7). The name he did finally choose was itself an allusion to the Romulean foundation, *augusto augurio post incluta condita Roma est* (Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 501 V^2).[2] The same ktistic augury of twelve vultures appeared to him as had appeared to Romulus. Romulus, like Hercules and Aeneas, was a hero who was subsequently deified: the Greek rite of Hercules, traditionally introduced to Italy by Evander, as Virgil recounts in *Aeneid* VIII, was said to have been the only foreign rite retained by Romulus, because (Livy 1.7.15) he saw in it a prefiguration of his own deification for *uirtus*.

But Romulus, though Rome's founder, was also a fratricide, and there is some evidence that in Augustan times he may have been blamed for the long curse of civil bloodshed (see Horace, *Epodes*

[1] The significance of the Calendar for August 29 B.C. in the structure of *Aen.* VIII was first pointed out by Drew 17–19. See also Comm. 269–72. Vulcan also had a festival in August (W. W. Fowler, *Roman festivals* (1899) 266).

[2] Cf. *Aen.* 6.781 *en huius, nate, auspiciis, illa incluta Roma.*

7.17–20). There was also a somewhat uncomfortable parallel between his career as conqueror and expansionist and that of the murdered, albeit also deified, Julius Caesar (cf. Syme 464).[1] Romulus was the son of Mars, as Aeneas of Venus; his warlike character is emphasised by Livy.[2] In his appearance in the *Aeneid* his martial aspect is not ignored (any more than Aeneas' is) but he is also the child suckled by a wolf, legendary symbol of Rome's pastoral beginnings, and the deified hero, like Julius Caesar safely dead.[3] Even the killing of Remus might be typologically moralised by implied analogy with Hercules' killing of Cacus: both Remus and Cacus lived on the Aventine, both trespassed on the Palatine (Livy 1.7.1–3), the sacred *pomerium*, Rome's first settlement, seat of Romulus, Evander and Augustus.

For Virgil, Romulus marks the end of pre-Roman myth and the beginning of a national tradition. He is placed next to Augustus both in Jupiter's prophecy in book I and in the vision of heroes which ends book VI, and which is almost exactly the same length as the ecphrasis of the shield at the end of book VIII, which begins with Romulus and ends with Augustus.[4] From 753 B.C. onwards the Romans are described indifferently as sons of Romulus and as sons of Aeneas (Comm. 638, 648). The Trojan seed, first planted in Italy in the heroic age of Homeric epic, begins with Romulus to bear its Roman fruit.

At the end of book VIII, when Aeneas puts on the shield, symbol of Roman history, of endurance with divine aid, Virgil associates his acceptance of this hard destiny with that of Atlas, the 'endurer', mythical shoulderer of the burden of the universe.[5] In the vision which ends book VI Augustus is associated both with Atlas and with

[1] For anti-Roman elements in the Romulus stories, see H. D. Jocelyn, 'Urbs Augurio Augusto Condita', *P.C.P.S.* 197 (1971) 44–74; Comm. 633.

[2] 1.16.7. Cf. also 1.22.2, where Livy describes Tullius Hostilius as *ferocior etiam quam Romulus*.

[3] Romulus appears, transfigured as Quirinus and reconciled to Remus, in Jupiter's vision, 1.292.

[4] 6.756–853 (omitting 'postscript') = 98 lines; 8.630–728 (omitting 'introduction') = 99 lines.

[5] Virgil also works Atlas into the mythical ancestry of the Trojans: see Comm. 136–7. There is a 'strange and memorable picture of Atlas, at once a mountain and a giant...ornate, baroque, even in some sense grotesque' (Williams *ad loc.*) at 4.246–51.

Hercules, the latter – who once shouldered Atlas' burden (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.565) – being antiquity's most famous burden-shoulderer.

> Augustus Caesar...
> proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus
> ...ubi caelifer Atlas
> axem umero torquet...
> nec uero Alcides tantum telluris obiuit...

Not even Hercules' legendary wanderings (which in *Aeneid* VIII take him to the very site of Rome to save Evander's city from Cacus) exceed the wanderings of Augustus on behalf of civilisation (the subject also of Horatian panegyric, *C.* 1.35, 3.5). This cosmic imagery, first used in the *Aeneid* of Augustus by Jupiter, 1.287 (see above) links the θεῖοι ἄνδρες (godlike men) with Jupiter the sky-god himself, in whose image the Roman *triumphatores* (Romulus and Augustus) paraded through the city.

All these heroes are what the Greeks called ἀλεξίκακοι, saviours of civilisation from barbarism (cf. Comm. 189): Hercules is literally 'alexikakos', 'warder-off of evil', when he kills Cacus, and the act of warding off evil is itself linked with the ktistic ritual of drawing the boundaries and (possibly) with the rite of the Lupercalia (Comm. 663–6). In Greek mythology Hercules belongs with Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri (Comm. 679) and Bacchus[1] as saviour-heroes, removed to heaven by the gods.[2] This is the company to which Romulus, Aeneas and Julius Caesar have been called, and to which Augustus will be: cf. Horace, *C.* 3.3.9–15 and 3.4.2–5 *praesens diuus habebitur*; the future tense is carefully used, for Augustus to the Romans was no Hellenistic god-king, no Ptolemy. In Virgil's epic structure a future tense serves equally to describe the coming deifications of Aeneas, *deberi caelo* (12.794) and Augustus, as prophesied by Jupiter, *hunc tu olim caelo accipies* (1.289). Augustus' deification will be as inevitable as was that of his predecessors: he is the culminating figure in a typological series.

[1] In *The Faerie Queene* 5.1.1–2, Spenser uses Bacchus and Hercules as exemplary types of his hero Sir Artegall, whose mission is to civilise. In mythographic tradition they came to stand for the inauguration of the rule of law in the east and west respectively.

[2] The theory that the gods were once human beings, attributed to the Greek writer Euhemerus, entered Roman mythology with Ennius, who wrote of Romulus 'in caelo cum dis genitalibus aeuum | degit'.

Augustus and Aeneas are further linked by their tutelary deities. Venus as Aeneas' mother and tutelary deity of the gens Julia is also mother of all the Romans, Lucretius' *Aeneadum genetrix*: she guides her son from Troy to Latium (Comm. 589–91), *matre mea monstrante uiam data fata secutus* (1.382). It is Venus who in book VIII commissions the shield; it is under the sign of Venus Victrix that Aeneas prepares to go forth to war. Apollo is the guiding deity of the Trojans and of Augustus, whose father he was supposed to have been (Suet. *Aug.* 94). His epiphany at Actium crowns the Trojan *nostos*: from his eminence on the Greek promontory, as later from the Palatine (Comm. 704, 720) he presides over Augustus' victory and triumph. He led Evander to the site of Rome (Comm. 336); and he is the poet's deity, *auditque uocatus* (*Ecl.* 6.3, *Georg.* 4.7, *Aen.* 3.395).

Of the role of Hercules in *Aeneid* VIII something more must be said. His association with Rome as a cult-figure traditionally began with Evander and was confirmed by Romulus.[1] He was the most conspicuous of the heroes of Greek myth. Homer is aware of his supremacy, though not of his apotheosis.[2] He was famous for his victorious and salutary deeds: Virgil links him with Aeneas through the common key-words *facta* and *labores*.[3] But his value to Virgil does not reside only in his being a pre-eminent cult-figure, a saviour of the city (Cacus is a local version of numerous giants and monsters, symbols of lawlessness, whom he destroyed in various places) and a deified hero. In later Greek literary tradition he became a type of natural man, striving towards virtue, his violent deeds justified by their end, the destruction of evil. Xenophon recounts in the *Memorabilia* (2.1.21–34) the philosopher Prodicus' story of the 'choice of Hercules', in which the hero rejects the 'Didonian' blandishments of a lady personifying pleasure in favour of another lady personifying virtue, choosing a life of labour not as the result of external pressure from tyrants but in conformity to the divine will. In the renaissance the choice of Hercules became a figure of the soul's struggle or 'psychomachia', while the 'great champion of the antique world' and legendary conqueror of

[1] For the probable historical origins of his cult in Rome see Grant 55–7.

[2] 'For not even the mighty Heracles escaped death' (*Il.* 18.117). *Od.* 11.602–4 is probably an interpolation designed to make Homer conform with later belief, first stated in Hesiod, *Theog.* 949–55.

[3] See Comm. 287–8, 516 and cf. 8.291, 1.460.

the west was transformed into a knight errant and, ultimately, into a type of Christ.[1] For Virgil, Aeneas' rejection of Dido, his wanderings and final victory over Turnus, *furiis accensus et ira terribilis*, stand in clear analogy with the Hercules of Greek tradition. In his account of Hercules' victory over Cacus, Virgil also deliberately stresses the hero's violence and *furor* (see Comm. 219, 299). He might have suppressed it, as he might have suppressed Aeneas' *furor* in his last battle with Turnus, but his knowledge alike of human nature and of heroic mythology stopped him. Heroes cannot make the world a good place; only a better one. When there is no more evil to destroy the earth will have no more need of a hero:

> ille deum uitam accipiet diuisque uidebit
> permixtos heroas et ipse uidebitur illis,
> pacatumque reget patriis uirtutibus orbem.

(iv) AENEAS' ARRIVAL IN LATIUM: THE EVENTS OF BOOK VII

A recurring motive of the *Aeneid*, which Virgil uses to link Aeneas' Homeric and his 'ktistic' function, is the safe convoy of the Trojan household gods (*penates*) from Troy to Latium, there to be set up as a symbol of continuity. The legend of Aeneas *penatiger* was indeed something of a cliché (Comm. 11): but Virgil transforms it into a profoundly noble image of the importance to the Roman state of 'true religion breathing household laws'. Indeed, if one reflects upon this 'missionary' function of Aeneas one sees that it is precisely here that Virgil effects his most significant transformation of Homeric values and comes closest to the Judaic concepts of the 'chosen people' and the 'promised land' (cf. Genesis 12.1–2).

At the same time Virgil stresses the fact that Aeneas did not bring the *penates* into a land spiritually benighted: *iam tum religio pauidos terrebat agrestis* | *dira loci* (*Aen.* 8.349–50). This instinct Virgil associates with the indigenous inhabitants and animistic local deities of Italy: it is a 'religion of place', a sense of awe, associated with the landscape, as intense in his poetry as in Wordsworth's. Aeneas brought in the *penates*, Evander brought in the Greek cult of the deified Hercules,

[1] See M. Y. Hughes in *Études Anglaises* 6 (1953) 193–213.

yet there were gods long before the coming of these two culture-heroes, *habitarunt di quoque siluas*, worshipped by the native Latins and their eponymous king Latinus, whose ceremonies are described in *Aeneid* VII.

The events of book VIII follow, and are linked with, those of VII. Both books begin with a night voyage. The Trojans' first glimpse of the promised land of Latium, 7.25–36, is a *laus Tiberis* of great pastoral beauty, exactly corresponding in length and tone to Aeneas' journey upstream to the site of Rome in VIII (86–96 + 101). The arrival at Ostia, where Aeneas *ingentem ex aequore lucum | prospicit*, prefigures the later arrivals at the groves outside Pallanteum on the site of Rome (8.104, 125) and at Caere, where Aeneas receives the shield (8.597).

Books VII and VIII both centre around an embassy. But in VIII Aeneas goes to Evander in person, in fulfilment of the Sibyl's prophecy that he will find salvation in a Greek city and because he must be personally initiated into the history and topography of Rome, to complete the initiation begun in another *seclusum nemus*, the Elysian Fields (book VI). Aeneas is absent from book VII: he sends an ambassador, Ilioneus, to negotiate with King Latinus, who, recognising in Aeneas his rightful and promised heir and son-in-law, offers the Trojans a peaceful alliance; Aeneas does not confront Latinus until book XII when the two leaders conclude a treaty symbolising the union of the immigrant and native peoples: *paribus se legibus ambae | inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant* (12.190–1). (It is the breaking of this treaty by Turnus which leads to the poem's dénouement.)

Aeneas and Latinus, the immigrant and the indigenous ancestor, are in some respects parallel figures. Some of the legends about Aeneas in Latium were in other versions attached to Latinus (e.g. the killing of Mezentius). Both ancestors were worshipped in Lavinium (traditional home of the *penates* before the founding of Rome, see App. A), Aeneas as 'Jupiter Indiges' and Latinus as 'Jupiter Latiaris'. Parallels also exist between Latinus and Evander. In some versions Lavinia was Evander's daughter not Latinus' (and married Hercules not Aeneas: Dion. Hal. 1.43, see also Grant 48). Such parallels facilitate the typological correspondences on which the *Aeneid* is built. Evander was sometimes identified with Latinus' animistic ancestor Faunus: both

names etymologically signified 'kindly' or 'favouring' one. Both Latinus and Evander, as depicted in the *Aeneid*, are old and peace-loving yet incapable on their own of defending the peace, protecting their precarious 'clearings in the woods', until aided by Hercules and Aeneas. Both have a child whom they entrust to Aeneas: Evander's son Pallas is first the Odyssean Peisistratus and Apollonian Dyskolus (the 'son'), and subsequently the Iliadic Patroclus (the 'blood-brother'): the double typology is characteristic of Virgil. Both are sons of nymphs (Comm. 335–6), both priest-kings, tribal chiefs of pastoral communes. Both represent aspects of the Roman ancestral past. Latinus is descended from Saturn, who legendarily came to Italy at the dawn of civilisation, and gave his name to the 'Saturnian' or golden age. Latinus is older than his links with Aeneas. In Greek tradition he is the son of Odysseus (by the nymph Marica) so that the Latin race is really Greek (D.H. 1.43). In Virgil, he is not only descended from Faunus, and thus linked with the primitive pastoral deities referred to by Evander as the first inhabitants of the hills of Rome, but also from Picus (woodpecker) which suggests the totem of a tribal commune (cf. the woodpecker which helped the wolf suckle Romulus and Remus, Plutarch, *Rom.* 4.2). According to Dionysius, Latinus married Rhome, the Trojan woman who gave her name to Rome.[1]

Though it has a pastoral setting, Latinus' temple/curia is a grand building, in contrast to the primitive hut-settlement of Evander on the Palatine.[2] But it is an ambivalent grandeur, characteristically reflecting the unease of Augustan poets at the hybristic metropolitan splendours of their time. Virgil describes it in a resounding line as *tectum augustum ingens, centum sublime columnis* (7.170): the word-play suggests an allusion to Augustus' own house, with the adjacent temple of Apollo, on the Palatine;[3] but the description also recalls, uneasily, the now fallen palace of Priam. Both possessed the sacred laurel in the

[1] Thus providing an 'etymology' for those who saw Rome as a Greek city rather than as the foundation of Romulus. The Greek word ῥώμη = 'might' or 'strength': this kind of aetiological word-play was common in antiquity.

[2] Illustrated in the Vatican Virgil, MS vat. lat. 3225 (4th cent.).

[3] See further below, 3 (iii) Topography. Latinus' temple also recalls the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with its gilded roof, where the triumphal processions ended (Comm. 348).

peristylium (2.512–14, 7.59–63). From this laurel Latinus' people the Laurentes (Comm. 1) took their name; it was sacred to Apollo; it figures also in the Elysian fields (6.658). Two laurels were planted in front of Augustus' house on the Palatine by a decree of the SPQR (13 Jan. 27 B.C.): they can be seen depicted with a façade of the house, and the oak leaves (civic crown) on a coin of Augustus.[1] The priests at the Ara Maxima Herculis wore laurel crowns in historical times (Comm. 276) as also did the *triumphator* who carried a branch of the same sacred tree.

Latinus' temple is filled with cedar-wood figures of ancestral Italian deities, including (7.180) Janus and Saturn, associated by Evander in VIII with the earliest settlements on the site of Rome (Comm. 357). The temple also holds the spoils of war (including sea-victories) which offers another typological parallel with the temple of Apollo (Comm. 721). Latinus has just consulted the oracle of Faunus concerning a fire-portent round the head of Lavinia.[2] This ritual of consultation is known technically as an *incubatio*:[3] the seeker spends the night on a bed of skins of newly slaughtered sheep in order to learn the future. Aeneas' night with Evander in VIII, from which he arises the following morning to go to Caere to receive the future in the form of the prophetic shield, offers an allusive parallel (Comm. 366–7).

But although Latinus promises an alliance, Juno opposes her will and (in the magnificent central section of book VII, which like VIII has a triadic structure) sends the fury Allecto to Latinus' queen Amata, to Lavinia's suitor Turnus and to Ascanius' hounds. With a dramatically effective use of anachronism Virgil introduces another ancient Roman ritual, the opening of the gates of the shrine of Janus, symbolising war.[4] The description ends with a mighty echo of Ennius: *Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis* (7.622, Enn. *Ann.* 262 V[2]). Latinus retires to his citadel, relinquishing his ancient hegemony. In grand procession the heroes of Italy, allied now under Turnus against the Trojans, pass before us: this 'catalogue' (Comm. 6–7) stands as the

[1] Reproduced in Lugli 178, pl. 120. See also Comm. 188–9 and below, 3 (iii) Topography.

[2] See 7.71–80, and cf. Comm. 680–1 for another fire-portent.

[3] On this ritual see further H. Boas, *Aeneas' arrival in Latium* (1938).

[4] With much publicity Augustus revived the rite and thrice closed the gates to celebrate peace (*R.G.* 13).

anti-type of the pageant of Roman heroes which forms the closing ecphrasis of book VI.

3. BOOK VIII

(i) VIRGIL'S SENSE OF THE PAST

Many critics have responded to the unique charm and originality of the eighth book of the *Aeneid*.[1] It is the Augustan heart of the poem, for it is the only book whose action passes on the actual site of Rome. But it is also the most pastoral book of the poem; and this ambivalence is the key to a proper understanding not only of the book itself but also of the entire epic. Though it has a dark prelude (1–17) and though its action includes narrow escapes from danger and destruction, it is on the whole a book of light, not darkness, the last predominantly peaceful book of the poem. Wonder and delight are its directing impulses, love of the past and trust in the gods its dominant themes. The climax of the book is the description of Aeneas' shield, wrought for him by Vulcan at Venus' instigation, at the centre of which is shown the victory of Augustus at Actium and his subsequent 'triple triumph' – a victory in which Aeneas sees obscurely, and the reader clearly, his own coming victory over Turnus. If it is in books VI, XI and XII of the *Aeneid* that we are closest to Virgil as the poet of human destiny, it is in book VIII that he most effectively articulates his sense of place and his sense of the past. For the book's time-span does not only stretch forward to the coming, *perfecto temporis orbe*, of Augustus: it stretches back, to the reign of Saturn, the legendary dawn of civilisation in Latium.

(ii) EVANDER

The earliest Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy probably date from the eighth century B.C. Evander, who was supposed to have come from Arcadia to the Palatine[2] before the Trojan war, is purely a figure of

[1] Notably Sainte-Beuve: 'Je ne sais rien de plus touchant et de plus neuf dans toute l'Énéide que ce huitième livre.'

[2] For the word-play Pallanteum–Palatium see Livy 1.5. There may well have been bronze-age inhabitants of Rome in the second millennium B.C.: see Grant 2.

Greek literary myth incorporated into the Augustan cultural-antiquarian tradition. (His name signifies in Greek 'good man' just as Cacus = 'bad'.) Livy says he introduced literacy to Italy; he resembles, in his concern for customs and religious rites, another mythical figure, Numa Pompilius, the peace-loving second king of Rome,[1] to whom was attributed the building of Janus' shrine, which was closed during his reign, symbolising peace. Numa's traditional association with the nymph Egeria also recalls Evander's nymph-mother Carmentis, especially when we remember that Egeria was identified with the prophetic Camenae. Moreover, Numa was a Sabine, and Virgil's Evander is married to a Sabine. There may also be a parallel between the Herculean Salii instituted by Evander and the Martian Salii instituted by Numa (for this college of priests see Comm. 285).

D. L. Drew suggested in *The allegory of the Aeneid* that Evander is a persona of Virgil himself, guiding the new *dux* to Rome. Evander's initiation of Aeneas follows his previous initiation of Hercules, who, like Aeneas, descended into the underworld and re-ascended from it, a re-ascent perhaps figuratively re-enacted when Evander takes Aeneas, as he had taken Hercules, up the Palatine (see below, 3 (iii) Topography, and Comm. 359, 365). Aeneas' sojourn with Evander and the celebrated 'walk round the site of Rome' stand at the heart of *Aeneid* VIII. Evander expresses the poet's sense of the national past, his deep feeling for landscape and place, and also perhaps allows him to indulge briefly once more, at the heart of his heroic epic, in the *otium* of pastoral.

Evander is a characteristically composite figure. He has affinities with Nestor in *Odyssey* III and also (for though a king, he is poor) with Eumaeus in *Odyssey* XIV. Aeneas' night journey to Pallanteum and his day and night with Evander correspond to Telemachus' journey to Pylos and his day and night with Nestor (Knauer 249ff.) but in addition, as has been noted, his arrival at Pallanteum corresponds to Odysseus' *nostos* to Ithaca.[2] On to these Greek models Virgil may

[1] Livy 1.18–19. The parallel was suggested by Sainte-Beuve but I am not aware that any modern critic has pursued it. The earliest account of Numa was in Ennius.

[2] There is also a fainter echo of Apollonius' Lycus (*Arg.* 2.773ff., Comm. 154ff.).

have grafted Roman ones, including perhaps some reminiscence of Ennius' account, now lost, of Aeneas' embassy to the king of Alba Longa.

Evander's chief function in book VIII is to serve as the mouthpiece for a series of aetiological disquisitions, explaining the origins of various customs and locations. These were a feature of Hellenistic poetry; Virgil doubtless drew also on Roman antiquarian and mythographic writings, including Ennius, Cato's *Origins*, and Varro's lost history of the Roman people – a tradition which culminated in the opening books of Livy. Two important elements in all these writings, both conspicuous in *Aeneid* VIII, are the family legend and the foundation-myth. The latter is Greek, but the former seems to have been peculiarly Roman.

Evander's hospitality to Aeneas is in the tradition of the theoxeny, the reception of a god or hero into a simple dwelling. This originates with Eumaeus' hospitality to Odysseus (Nestor's hospitality to Telemachus is on too grand a scale to qualify) and became popular in Hellenistic poetry. Callimachus described the entertainment of Heracles by a poor man, Molorchus, in his *Aitia*, and that of Theseus, a second Heracles, by a poor old woman in his *Hecale*, a narrative poem in hexameters telling of Theseus' victory over a bull. Ovid's tale of Baucis and Philemon in *Metamorphoses* VIII shows Callimachus' influence and was the model for the entertainment of Raphael by Adam and Eve in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In most theoxenies, since the guest is a stranger from another country, the conversation provided a convenient framework for aetiological ecphrases, a tradition which is continued in *Paradise Lost*, when Raphael and Adam exchange aetiological information.

Virgil's first formulation of the 'pastoral invitation' occurs at the end of his first Eclogue, when Tityrus says to Meliboeus:

> Hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem
> fronde super uiridi: sunt nobis mitia poma,
> castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis.

The virtue of poverty, in the sense of 'simple sufficiency' rather than destitution, became a standard topic of pagan *consolatio* and subsequently of Christian homiletic. Indeed, almost every philosopher has proclaimed his indifference to wealth. The sentiment is familiar

in Horace, for instance in the oxymoron, similar to that expressed by Evander, *licet sub paupere tecto | reges et regum uita praecurrere amicos* (*Ep.* 1.10.32–3).

The theoxeny is used three times by Spenser in the pastoral sixth book of *The Faerie Queene*.[1] These passages not only provide the epic hero with spiritual refreshment before he renews his quest – in a way closely modelled on the Evander episode – but also to some extent provide a comment on the quest itself, perhaps even a doubt as to its ultimate value, a doubt which Virgil himself expressed in a famous passage in his second *Georgic*, in which he contrasted the happy if exiguous life of the Italian farmer with *res Romanae perituraque regna*. Such topics were rhetorical commonplaces of epideictic literature. But in *Aeneid* VIII the contrast between grandeur and simplicity transcends literary convention. Through Evander, aetiology is made to serve a moral purpose.[2]

The image of the *ingens* hero (Comm. 367) stooping to enter the small house was seen in the renaissance as an allegorical prefiguration of Christian precept ('he that humbleth himself shall be exalted', 'enter in at the strait gate', etc.). Not only in Spenser, but throughout renaissance literature, heroic characters submit to a discipline of dispossession so that they may later more worthily fulfil their destined role. A good example occurs in Shakespeare, *Cymbeline* (a mixture of heroic chronicle and pastoral romance), 3.3.2–3, where Belarius says 'Stoop, boys; this gate | Instructs you how t'adore the heavens.' A more specific topographical allusion occurs in Marvell's poem 'Upon Appleton House':

> But all things are composed here
> Like Nature, orderly and near:
> In which we the Dimensions find
> Of some more sober Age and Mind

[1] In *F.Q.* 6.4.14 the Salvage Man offers Sir Calepine 'the bare ground with hoarie mosse bestrowed...And the fruits of the forest was their feast.' In 6.5.38–9 the Hermit leads Arthur to his small house. In 6.9.16 Meliboee (a name taken from Virgil's first eclogue, in which Tityrus offers simple hospitality to Meliboeus) invites Sir Calidore into his 'simple home'.

[2] I have developed the argument of this section of the Introd. at greater length in two articles on 'The pastoral alternative', *Arethusa* (1970) 103–21, 177–96.

When larger-sized Men did stoop
To enter at a narrow loop;
As practising in doors so strait
To strain themselves through Heavens gate.

And surely when the after Age
Shall hither come in Pilgrimage,
Those sacred places to adore...
Men will dispute how their Extent
Within such dwarfish Confines went:
And some will smile at this, as well
As Romulus his Bee-like Cell.[1]

In the *Aeneid*, just as Carthage is the anti-type of Rome, so Dido's invitation to Aeneas in the first half of the poem is the anti-type of Evander's.[2] Dido leads him into a palace made splendid by art (1.637–40):

at domus interior regali splendida luxu
instruitur, mediisque parant conuiuia tectis:
arte laboratae uestes ostroque superbo,
ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro...[3]

Evander leads Aeneas home through pastoral terrain, *siluestribus horrida dumis*, comparable not with Augustan Rome but with the Elysian fields and the valley of Caere. The contrast between the Didonian or courtly palace and the simple, self-sufficient dwelling, became a standard topic in the renaissance. The pastoral invitations in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* are placed in a clear anti-typical relationship with various 'Didonian' *paradis artificiels*[4] which offer, as does Virgil's

[1] The *casa Romuli*, a thatched hut of the protohistorical *capanna* type, is referred to at 8.654 (Comm.): a specimen survived to V.'s time. See further below, 3 (iii) Topography. For a reconstruction see A. G. McKay, *Vergil's Italy* (1971), pl. 21.

[2] For verbal correspondences between Aen.'s visits to Carthage and to Rome see Comm. 309. Tasso in his *Discorso...del Poema Eroico* divides V.'s 'episodes' into those which obstruct the hero (*impedimenti*, including Dido) and those which help him (*mezzi*, including Evander).

[3] Cf. the satirical description of the rich man's town house, *foribus domus alta superbis*, contrasted in *Georg.* 2.461ff. with the peace and moral simplicity of rural life.

[4] E.g. the Idle Lake and the Bower of Bliss in *F.Q.* 2.6, 12.

Carthage, a temptation to the hero towards sexual self-indulgence and forgetfulness of his heroic mission: cf. *Aeneid* 4.193–4 *nunc...inter se luxu...fouere | regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.*

In renaissance country-house poems, Jonson's 'To Penshurst' and Carew's 'To G.N. from Wrest', a modest and functional architecture distinguishes the good house from the courtly residence 'built to envious show'. Carew praises Wrest as a house where 'high | Exalted turrets threaten not the sky', an echo of the hyperbolic image used by Virgil at 8.99–100 (Comm.).

At Dido's court Aeneas wore rich but useless costume, his sword no longer functional but merely decorative:

> atque illi stellatus iaspide fulua
> ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
> demissa ex umeris, diues quae munera Dido
> fecerat, et tenui telas discreuerat auro.[1]

In Dido's bed, in her grand palace, Aeneas reverted to his 'Asiatic' origins, Paris not Hector,[2] the type of Antony not Augustus (Comm. 685). From the bed of Evander, in a primitive hut, he arises refreshed, ready to put on the armour of the θεῖος ἀνήρ to emerge as the 'Iliadic' victor and Roman *triumphator*, the type of the stoic and of the Christian hero.

(iii) TOPOGRAPHY

The triadic structure of book VIII is also reflected in its topography. Excluding the central section, the Venus–Vulcan passage (370–453), the setting of which is imaginary, the main action passes in three locations: Ostia, Rome, Caere. For a proper understanding of book VIII, the modern reader must acquire, as far as possible, what his Augustan predecessor would certainly have possessed, a sense of its topographical significance.

Little need be said here of the opening scene, which takes place at Aeneas' first camp in Latium, on the sea-coast near the mouth of the

[1] *Aen.* 4.261–4. Dryden's rendering 'For ornament not use' brings out the antithesis clearly.

[2] Cf. the sneer of Numanus at the Trojans' oriental decadence, 9.614ff., *uobis picta croco et fulgenti murice uestis*. The use of dyes is also mentioned in the passage in *Georg.* 2 referred to above, p. 28 n. 3.

Tiber.[1] Latinus' citadel lay a few miles down the coast,[2] presumably near the site of Aeneas' subsequent foundation of Lavinium, identified with the modern Pratica del Mare. The modern traveller may drive down the coast from the modern Ostia (Ostia Antica is no longer on the sea): the vegetation, mainly pine woods, comes down close to the shore. Both along the beach and inland may be seen round, thatched huts (*capanne*) of the 'beehive' type, modern versions of the 'casa Romuli.'

The principal action of book VIII begins at 102 when Aeneas disembarks, after his night journey upstream, at a riverside clearing, where Evander is engaged in the celebration of the Hercules rite, held annually in historical times on 12 August at the Ara Maxima Herculis in the Forum Boarium (cattle market). From here, in the evening, the two heroes set out on their walk through the city to Evander's *arx*. Given the topography (not to mention the traffic) of modern Rome, it is not easy to reconstruct the walk with certainty. What does seem certain, however, since both topography and typology require it, is that Evander's house, where the walk ends, must be located on the site of what was later to be Augustus' house on the south-west of the Palatine. This location was first proposed by O. Richmond in an article, 'The Augustan Palatium',[3] in which he argued that the house of Evander–Augustus was to be identified with the so-called Casa Liviae[4] which stands beside the Scalae Caci and the Temple of Apollo.

There seems little doubt that this view is correct, and represents Virgil's intention. The walk would then begin and end in the two

[1] See 7.157–9 *ipse...molitur...locum primasque in litore sedes | castrorum in morem...cingit*. Full discussions on the most probable location of this camp are in B. Tilly, *Virgil's Latium* (1947) and H. Boas, *Aeneas' arrival in Latium* (1938).

[2] As indicated by the 'iter emensi' of 7.160, describing the Trojan embassy from the camp to Latinus' settlement. The latter is not named by V.: see App. A, Comm. 1.

[3] *J.R.S.* 4 (1914) 193–226. A fuller and earlier version (1910) of this seminal essay, consisting of typescripts of three lectures, is in the library of the British School at Rome. J. H. Bishop, 'Palatine Apollo', *C.Q.* N.S. 6 (1956) 187–90, placed the house on the N.E. of the Palatine, overlooking the Forum Romanum, a theory rejected by Richmond, 'Palatine Apollo Again', *C.Q.* N.S. 8 (1958) 180–4.

[4] For the Casa Liviae, see Lugli 165ff. A plan of the house and a photograph are reproduced in McKay, *Vergil's Italy*, pls. 22, 23.

most ancient areas of the Romulean city, linking them and giving them (characteristically) a pre-Romulean aetiology. According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.24) the limits of the Romulean city, the *pomerium*, could be credibly reconstructed: 'sed initium condendi, et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. igitur a foro boario ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur: inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini...' Augustus saw himself as a second Romulus, a second *conditor urbis*; on a coin of his, a laurel-crowned priest is driving a plough round the *pomerium in modo Romuli*.[1]

Tacitus adds that the Capitoline and the Forum Romanum were not added to the city until the time of Titus Tatius. The Aventine was originally assigned to Remus and only incorporated into the city after his death.

The Palatine consists of three hills: the oldest, the Cermalus, lies nearest to the Forum Boarium and the Velabrum. The Palatine proper lay south-east of the Cermalus; the third hill, the Velia, was to the north-east, nearest to the Forum Romanum, with, beyond, the Argiletum and Carinae, both pointed out to Aeneas by Evander: the latter was in classical times a wealthy residential area, the former famous as the site of the shrine of Janus and the temple of the *penates* or Dioscuri (Comm. 679; cf. D.H. 1.68). The name Cermalus was said to have been derived from *germani* (i.e. Romulus and Remus: Varro, *L.L.* 5.54). There were hut-settlements here of the 'bee-hive' type associated with the 'Casa Romuli' (Comm. 654) from the eighth century B.C. (Lugli 142). This, then, was Romulus' *urbs*, the cradle of Roman civilisation.[2]

There still survives on the Cermalus a track leading down towards the Circus Maximus, known as the Scalae Caci, which clearly reflects an ancient tradition concerning the location of Cacus' cave.[3] Just beside the Scalae Caci, on the south-west of the Cermalus, stand the

[1] Cf. Varro, *LL* 5.143 'oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi, id est iunctis bubus, tauro et uacca, interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum (hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato) ut fossa et muro essent muniti.'

[2] Cf. Livy 1.7 'Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit.'

[3] Virgil transfers the site to the Aventine: see above, 2(iii); Comm. 190–305.

remains of the Casa Liviae: this, Augustus' first building on the Palatine, consisted of the enlargement and improvement of a modest republican house, the domus Hortensii.[1] Close beside it stand the remains of a temple, now generally agreed to be that of Actian Apollo, vowed by Augustus in 36 B.C. and dedicated in 28 B.C. If this complex of buildings be taken as a single unit, the contrast between simplicity and splendour, central to Virgil's moral synthesis, would find its architectural correlative. Here was the domestic and religious heart of Virgil's Rome, the modesty being reserved for Augustus, the splendour for the deity whose apotheosis at Actium brought him victory. Ovid regarded the Palatine as the seat equally of Augustus and Apollo: in *Fasti* 4.951–4 the two are placed together with a third, Vesta, goddess of the hearth-fire (=Livia?), a 'Palatine triad' to match the 'Capitoline triad':

> state Palatinae laurus praetextaque quercu[2]
> stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos.

In *Tristia* 3.1.31–8 Ovid describes an itinerary in imitation of Virgil's walk. It culminates in a splendid building. Surely, says the viewer, this is Jupiter's house? But it is the house of Leucadian (= Actian) Apollo, and of Augustus, saved by Apollo to become himself *seruator ciuium* (cf. Comm. 188–9). Here again, the casa and the temple are regarded as a single unit, where the first citizen lived simply and his tutelary deity grandly, side by side.

The route taken by Evander and Aeneas from the Forum Boarium to the Palatine was a circuitous one, partly perhaps because Evander was *obsitus aeuo* and needed to choose an easy and gradual path, but primarily because the purpose of the itinerary was not to get home as quickly as possible but to include certain aetiologically significant sites. Moreover, Virgil does not always make clear which locations are actually passed on the walk and which are merely pointed out.[3] Obviously the ruins on the Janiculum, a mile or more away on the other side of the river, must belong in the second category; it also

[1] Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 72 'postea in Palatio sed nihilominus in aedibus modicis Hortensianis.'

[2] The oak is an allusion to the civic crown awarded to Augustus: Comm. 188–9.

[3] Richmond may be right in suggesting that, as they stand, 8.337–61 are unrevised topographical notes.

appears that the two hills of the Capitoline were not ascended: the heroes merely passed beneath them.[1] In the same way, at the beginning of the Hercules–Cacus ecphrasis, Evander indicates to Aeneas the remains of Cacus' cave, high above them.

The starting-point of the walk is not in dispute. The Ara Maxima stood in the Forum Boarium or cattle-market (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.581–2), one of the commercial markets which lay along the river, below the Forum Romanum, from earliest times. It lay between the Circus Maximus and the Forum Holitorium (vegetable market) whose name survives in the modern Via Foro Olitorio (the continuation of the Via Iugario towards the river). The modern traveller should go to the Piazza della Bocca di Verità, to the south-east of which, probably in the corner formed by the Via della Grěca and the Via dell'Ara Massima d'Ercole, stood the Ara Maxima. This district is today chiefly visited because of the famous church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which stands on the site of a former Roman temple (of Ceres) just to the south-west of the site of the altar.[2] To the north-east stood a temple to Hercules the Victor, probably round, like the round temple which survives (with another, rectangular one) near the site today. Here was found the large bronze statue of Hercules now in the Capitoline Museum.

At 8.306 the two heroes leave the Forum Boarium and proceed *ad urbem*. The first place pointed out by Evander is the Porta Carmentalis with its altar (8.337–8). During the historical disquisition by Evander which fills the intervening lines, the heroes may have been walking along the river to the Forum Holitorium, turning up the modern Via Iugario and its continuation, the Via della Consolazione. The Porta Carmentalis probably stood at the meeting of these streets. Close by stood the temple of Apollo, the city's only temple to that deity until Augustus built the one on the Palatine.[3] This temple does not survive, but it stood quite near the still surviving theatre of

[1] When Fowler points out the ruins of the Janiculum (357–8) the two heroes are already ascending the Palatine. The lines do not prove, as B. Tilly says, *The story of Pallas* 385n., that the Capitoline must have been scaled also.

[2] See Lugli 312–13 and the official guide to S. Maria in Cosmedin by G. Massimi (Rome 1953).

[3] Comm. 333–6. See also P. Grimal, 'La Promenade d'Évandre et Énée à la lumière des fouilles récentes', *R.E.A.* 50 (1948) 348–51.

Marcellus, where the secular games were celebrated. If this route were followed, it would take one immediately beneath the Capitoline. But the next place mentioned is the Lupercal, the most probable site of which (Lugli 156) is close to the church of S. Anastasia just below the south-west slope of the Palatine (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.381ff.). To reach this it would be necessary to leave the Piazza della Bocca di Verità by the south-west corner of the Palatine, by the Via Velabro (near the Arch of Janus). From there a slight detour by the Via di S. Giovanni Decollato brings one back into the Via della Consolazione by the small piazza of the same name. Or, by turning left at the top of the Via Velabro into the Via S. Teodoro which skirts the Palatine, one reaches the Forum Romanum. The modern traveller will note how today trees and vegetation are conspicuous on the Palatine (and to a lesser extent on the Capitoline); moreover, the Forum Romanum itself, in Virgil's time the heart of metropolitan Rome, today an archaeological preserve, was in the eighteenth century a place where cattle pastured, as they did in Evander's time (8.361) and was known as the Campo Vaccino (Lugli 213, 216, p. 150). Time's vicissitudes, and the ironies of historical perspective, which cast their shadow even over Evander's guided tour, when he points out to Aeneas *disiectis oppida muris, reliquias ueterumque...monimenta uirorum*, are powerfully evoked by Gibbon (*Decline and fall of the Roman empire* 71), where he describes the view of Rome seen from the Capitoline by two fifteenth-century papal courtiers:

> Her primeval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy, has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and

seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace: survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune.

During the walk it is the Capitoline not the Palatine which dominates the view as it also dominates Evander's discourse. Indeed, it is a brilliantly effective stroke to suppress the name of the Palatine, the walk's goal, altogether: the name is, as it were, conspicuous by its very absence, appearing only in the heavily emphatic word-play of Pallanteum. It was, in fact, the Capitoline which dominated the city's religious life during the republic and was to dominate it again when the Palatine fell into ruins.

Today, the Palatine is an archaeological preserve while the Capitoline, the modern Campidoglio, is dominated by the church of S. Maria Ara Coeli and the Victor Emanuel monument. These structures stand on the *arx*, one of the two peaks of the Capitoline; the other, to the south, is the Capitoline proper. Between the two (Comm. 342–3) was the Roman asylum. During the last century of the republic this valley was filled in by the building of the Tabularium (public record office) which still dominates this side of the Forum Romanum. The steps of the Via dell'Arco di Settimio Severo lead up to the Tabularium at the corner nearest the *arx*. In the south-west corner of the Forum Romanum, the Via del Tempio di Giove and Via di Monte Tarpeio lead up to the Capitoline proper, the Tarpeian rock. From the Belvedere Tarpeo, just behind which stood the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, one may look across the Forum Romanum to the Palatine. From here there is a direct descent back to the Forum Holitorium or Forum Boarium by the steps of the Via del Tempio di Giove to the Via di Monte Caprino. Evander and Aeneas did not ascend the Capitoline, but continued their circuit, into the Forum Romanum and round to the Palatine by the Sacra Via or the

Nova Via. From the north-east corner of the Forum Romanum they could have seen the nearby Argiletum and Carinae as they began their final ascent to the Palatine. The modern traveller may ascend by the Clivus Palatinus (near the Arch of Titus) and thence to the Orti Farnesiani which overlook the Casa Liviae.

Thus the progress of the walk is a topographical sequence parallel with the historical sequence of events later presented to Aeneas on the shield. From Rome's pastoral beginnings (Lupercal, asylum) we move through her 'heroic' age, the republican period (dominated by the Capitoline, which also dominates the great sequence 652–62), to end, as we began, on the Palatine, the seat of Evander, Romulus and Augustus.

The last scene of *Aeneid* VIII, where Aeneas receives the shield, takes place at Caere. The change of location is a characteristically Virgilian stroke. Caere, now Cerveteri (= old Caere), about thirty miles north of Rome, with its port Agylla, was one of the most powerful cities of coastal Etruria, reaching its zenith in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The city had commercial links with Greece and became a famous centre of metalwork, and thus an appropriate place for Aeneas to receive the shield. But there is a more important symbolism: for Aeneas, Caere was a friendly city of Greek origin; for the Augustans, it was a city which had once been Rome's enemy and was now her subject. In *Aeneid* 10.153–4, Tarchon king of Caere becomes Aeneas' ally, *iungit opes foedusque ferit*; in the alliance of Trojan and Etruscan, as later in the alliance of Trojan and Latin, Virgil prefigures the unified Italy of the Augustan settlement.

Caere is celebrated today for its magnificent Etruscan tombs, described by D. H. Lawrence in *Etruscan Places*. It is still isolated and thickly wooded, divided by the valleys of the Fossa di Manganello, crossed by the road leading out of Cerveteri to the principal necropolis of the historical period, Banditaccia, and the Fossa di Mola on the other side of the town. Beyond Banditaccia lies a third stream, the Fossa di Marrona. The *uallis reducta* where Aeneas received the shield might have been in any of the three locations.

(iv) MYTH AS ALLEGORY

It has been emphasised (pp. 8–10) that the 'real' subject of the *Aeneid* is the origin of Rome and of Augustus. In this respect book VIII

is clearly the most Roman and the most Augustan book of the poem: not only does its action take place on the site of Rome, but its climax depicts Augustus' triumphal entry into the city which Aeneas entered with Evander. It is, perhaps, at this culminating point that typology ends and allegory takes over. Virgil interweaves into the structure of book VIII, with its juxtaposition of 'simple past' and 'grand present', the moral ambivalences inherent in two Greek myths – the 'golden age' and the discovery of fire – to produce a cultural synthesis of man's evolution from barbarism to civilisation.

The 'Saturnia regna' are described by Evander at 315–27. Saturn was identified with the Greek Kronos in Hesiodic myth, father of Jupiter (Zeus) and Juno (Hera), the two principal deities who determine the action of the *Aeneid*, in which Saturn plays no part, for he represents the legendary era before struggles for power began. He was exiled from Olympus by his usurping son, and his downfall represented the end of the first of the races of men, the 'golden race'. But in the account given by Virgil and D.H. 1.36, Saturn fled to Italy where he established the first peaceful reign; this enabled the Greek Kronos to be identified with a primitive Italian agricultural deity and culture-hero, ancestor of Latinus, in whose temple his image stands, along with that of other primitive rural deities (7.178–80):

Italusque paterque Sabinus
uitisator curuam seruans sub imagine falcem,
Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago.

Evander's account of Saturn's reign (325), *placida populos in pace regebat,* echoes the description of Latinus' reign at 7.46 *urbes placidas in pace regebat*. The Latins pride themselves on retaining the peace of Saturn's reign voluntarily, not under legal compulsion (7.202ff.):

neue ignorate Latinos
Saturni gentem haud uinclo nec legibus aequam
sponte sua ueterisque dei se more tenentem.

Virgil's account of the primitive inhabitants of Italy before Saturn's coming is based on Lucretius. They lived wild in mountain caves (cf. 8.321 and Lucretius 5.955 *sed nemora atque cauos montis siluasque colebant*), knowing neither the arts of peace nor those of agriculture, the two aspects of the Saturnian settlement (Comm. 316–17). They

had not learned to harvest or store food: cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 5.321–2, on life in Eden,

> small store will serve, where store,
> All seasons, ripe for use, hangs on the stalk.

Lucretius also emphasises that primitive man lived for the day, taking what nature offered:

> quod sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearat
> *sponte sua*, satis id placabat pectora donum. (5.937–8)

Virgil idealises this aspect of primitive life in his nostalgic vision of a lost pastoral simplicity in *Georgics* 2.492ff., a famous passage in praise of Italian rural life:

> quos rami fractus, quos ipsa uolentia rura
> *sponte* tulere *sua*, carpsit.

In Hesiodic myth (for a Latin version see Ovid, *Met.* 1.89ff.) and in the Christian prelapsarian myth, the golden race was a metaphor describing the very beginning of man; he was created perfect, and his subsequent development shows a falling away from this ideal. Such a view of history does not, however, suit Virgil's teleological purpose; he therefore adopts also the Lucretian account of primitive man's evolution from barbarism towards civilisation, using Saturn to symbolise the first stage in this evolution. In Lucretius, primitive man took what nature offered, in the 'golden' or prelapsarian way, but had no idea of common good or of contracts or the laws of property:

> nec commune bonum poterant spectare neque ullis
> moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti. (5.958–9)

To the Romans with their profound belief in the value of law, this could only mean a state of barbarism (Cacus in *Aeneid* VIII is a thief as well as a symbol of *uiolentia*). On the cyclic theory of history, the civilising work first done in Latium by Saturn must be periodically done again, with each fresh threat to law and order, each new lapse into barbarism. The work of civilisation is done again in *Aeneid* VIII by Hercules when he kills Cacus, by Augustus, *curator legum et morum* (*R.G.* 6) and by Vulcan: the forging of the shield, which Aeneas will wear to do his work of civilisation and on which is depicted the

evolution of the Roman state, itself symbolises man's control of fire as an evolutionary process.

This cyclic view of history, in which man continually lapses and is redeemed, occurs also in the myth of the flood. The *genus durum* of Italian primitivism has much in common with the first postdiluvian race, who had to endure hardship: cf. Ovid. *Met.* 1.395ff. *inde genus durum sumus experiensque laborum.* In Lucretius V, the human race as first created was *durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset.* The aboriginal Italians are praised as *duri* by Numanus in his anti-Trojan speech, 9.598–620 (Comm. 316). There is an unresolved tension here (Comm. 55): in his conflict with the Italians Aeneas and his men must themselves become *duri*, yet without losing the 'Trojan' qualities which the Latins lack. The burden of Aeneas' first speech of exhortation to his men in book I is *durate* (198–207) and this becomes the moral burden of the entire poem.

One may also see the Venus–Vulcan episode as evolutionary allegory. Vulcan was an ambiguous deity, as was the element, fire, which he personified. As G. S. Kirk notes (*Myth* (1970) 196) the various Greek fire-myths 'not only reflect its importance but also seem to perform something of their Levi-Straussian function, in this case, of mediating a contradiction'. Fire may be dangerous and destructive, as is the fire of Cacus, and also, when properly controlled, beneficial to man, since it is necessary in order to cook food and warm the hearth. *Aeneid* VIII is much concerned with the *priscorum hominum uita.* Virgil's Cacus represents primitive man at his most bestial, man in the era before Vulcan, before the domestication of fire; he eats his flesh raw, he fights with stones – the fire he belches forth is forest fire, dangerous fire, useless and destructive: *hic Cacum in tenebris incendia uana uomentem,* 8.259. In contrast, the fire in the Cyclopes' cave where the arms are forged under Vulcan's tutelage, is controlled and constructive. The transition from stone-age primitivism, the era *ante Vulcanum,* to the age of metal, the civilised era *sub Vulcano,*[1] is symbolised in *Aeneid* VIII by the night (spent by Aeneas with Evander following the recital of Hercules' victory over Cacus) during which

[1] The allegorical possibilities of Lucretian–Virgilian evolutionary theory were exploited in the renaissance by Piero di Cosimo in a series of paintings depicting Vulcan as a teacher of mankind: see E. Panofsky, *Studies in iconology* (1939; repr. 1962) 43–59.

Venus commissions from Vulcan the shield on which is depicted the evolution of the Roman state from pastoral primitivism (the wolf suckling the twins in a cave) to Augustan sophistication: the last scenes on the shield are of nations subdued and great rivers controlled.

In Virgil's Venus–Vulcan episode, 8.370–406, Venus breathes the fire of love into Vulcan, who rises from her bed to go forth to his work of instruction and civilisation, *mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit*, just as, soon after, Aeneas rises from his bed to go forth to receive the shield and perform his own work of civilisation *sub Vulcano*. The fire-god becomes the artificer. In the bridge-simile at 8.407–15 (see Comm.) Vulcan's fire, which heats the forge, becomes the vestal fire of the Roman household, tended through the night so that the work of education should continue. The fire of civilisation, once lit, must not be allowed to go out. So too, next morning, Aeneas rekindles the sleeping 'Herculean' fire, not on the Ara Maxima, but in Evander's own hearth: by killing Cacus Hercules brought fire under control, a Promethean achievement, and provided an allegorical parallel to the 'taming' of Vulcan by Venus on behalf of Roman civilisation: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento, | hae tibi erunt artes*.

In this episode, as also in the account of Saturn's reign, Virgil is indebted to Lucretius. Two passages from the *D.R.N.* must be quoted, the first being a part of the famous opening invocation to Venus (1.31–40):

> nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuuare
> mortalis, quoniam belli fera moenia Mauors
> armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se
> reicit aeterno deuictus uulnere amoris,
> atque ita suspiciens tereti ceruice reposta
> pascit amore auidos inhians in te, dea, uisus,
> eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore.
> hunc tua, diua, tuo recubantem corpore sancto
> circumfusa super, suauis ex ore loquelas
> funde petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.[1]

[1] For another reminiscence of this passage see Comm. 633. On Virgil's borrowings from Lucretius see Comm. 30.

It may seem naive to suggest (Comm. 408–13) that Virgil's modification of his predecessor's famous image, his substitution of the husband Vulcan for the lover Mars, reflects Augustan moral legislation by presenting Venus, *Aeneadum genetrix*, in the role of *uniuira*. Virgil's Augustan readers would perhaps have been more likely to smile at the skill with which the Lucretian passage has been combined with Homer's episode of the beguiling of Zeus by his own wife in *Iliad* XIV. They would also, I suspect, have been unable to avoid mentally resubstituting Mars for Vulcan, so familiar was the Lucretian image, bringing together, in this most Roman book of the *Aeneid*, the mother of Aeneas and the father of Romulus. Vulcan, though not the father of Aeneas, becomes, like Evander, a 'paternal' figure calling up for Aeneas, in the prophetic scenes on the shield, the Roman genealogical tradition already conjured up for him, at the end of book VI, by Anchises.

The second relevant passage from Lucretius comes from his account of man's primitive beginnings (*D.R.N.* V), Virgil's general indebtedness to which has already been observed:

> tum genus humanum primum mollescere coepit,
> ignis enim curauit ut alsia corpora frigus
> non ita iam possent caeli sub tegmine ferre
> et Venus imminuit uiris puerique parentum
> blanditiis facile ingenium fregere superbum. (5. 1014–18)

These lines describe the softening (civilising) process brought about by fire. The Lucretian Venus is generative as well as sexual, and Virgil's Venus, too, is not merely a sexual figure in book VIII but the mother of the Aeneidae whose future Vulcan is to reveal.[1] The moment when man came in from the cold to the warmth of the domestic hearth is seen by Lucretius as an important evolutionary step. In the more ambivalent moral structure of the *Aeneid* the concept implied by words like *mollescere* and *blanditiae* is modified by a sometimes uneasy reassertion of the value of a 'lost primitivism', a nostalgia for the old Roman virtues associated by Virgil with Italy, an Italy older even than the coming of Homeric Aeneas.

[1] Galinsky argues (203–41) that the Lucretian Venus inspired the famous figure on the Ara Pacis Augustae.

4. THE POETRY

(i) THE EPIC STYLE

The *Aeneid*, being a heroic epic modelled on Homer, is written in a grand or high style. It is also a national epic about the Roman past, written by a poet who was renowned for being, in Quintilian's words, 'amantissimus uetustatis', and whose principal native model was Ennius, who stood to him much as Chaucer stood to Spenser. But though profoundly learned in, and respectful of, Homeric and Roman epic tradition, Virgil did not parade his learning in the self-conscious and sophisticated 'Alexandrian' manner of the 'doctus'. He drew continually upon the past, but always in order to revive it in, and relate it to, the present. He wanted his poem to be widely accessible to his fellow-countrymen. The *Aeneid* is thus in every respect the antithesis of a poem such as *The Waste Land*. He seems deliberately to have avoided (as Spenser in his reverence for Chaucer did not) any but the most scrupulously discriminating use of archaisms; a point noted by Quintilian (8.3.24) and Ben Jonson: 'how rarely doth he insert *aquai* and *pictai*' (*Discoveries* cxix).[1] Spenser had virtually to invent a vernacular high style for his epic from scratch; Virgil developed and refined an existing poetic tradition.

He also reacted against the self-consciously affected 'poetic' diction of Catullus' hexameters, which contain a very high proportion of compound words and 'glosses', by which is meant poetic, rare, foreign and technical words: in Catullus *C.* 64, which is about half the length of a book of the *Aeneid*, we find, for instance, *collucere, gaza, calathiscus, puluinar, clarisonus, contremere, concredere, praeportare, comprecari, carbasus, aridulus, languidulus, coaceruare.* No poetry can exist without glosses, and Roman poets in particular needed them because of what Lucretius called (1.832) the *patrii sermonis egestas*. The 'preciosity and bravura of the new technique' (Fordyce 275) revolutionised the ponderous Ennian hexameter: Virgil acknowledged Catullus' achievement and

[1] Only 4 times in the *Aeneid*, 169 times in Lucretius. V. repudiated altogether the 'induperator' form despite its metrical convenience. He used the forms *olli, ollis* sparingly: Comm. 94, 594, 659. For other archaisms in VIII see Comm. 127, 132, 160, 436, 470, 670, and for comparative statistics and lists see A. Cordier, *Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l'"Énéide"* (1939).

took what he needed from it, but he saw, too, that its mannerism, brilliant in a *jeu d'esprit*, would become cloying in a twelve-book epic.[1]

It is difficult for a modern reader to have sufficient knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the nuances of a dead language, to appreciate exactly how Virgil 'purified the dialect of the tribe'. More than any other single poet, he may be said to have created the poetic language of Rome as Cicero had created its prose language, but he did this by subtle modification of the common tongue and of the poetic diction of his predecessors, Ennius, Lucretius and Catullus. He used archaisms and glosses, but nearly always to create some particular effect or in deliberate and appropriate reminiscence of one of his predecessors. He also allowed into heroic verse many 'unpoetic' or colourless words – pronouns, adverbs, enclitics, conjunctions – and promoted into the epic style some 'low' words used by Plautus and Terence. According to a famous, if somewhat disputed criticism, recorded in the ancient *Life* (44),[2] he was felt to have overdone his distaste for poeticisms and to have made his preference for 'common words' itself something of an affectation.[3]

The formation of style is a gradual process, both in the life of a literary tradition and in the life of an individual working within, and modifying, that tradition. The style of Virgil's early pastorals, with their simple diction and mellifluous prosody, is in many ways unlike that of the *Aeneid*, as one would expect from the genre-conscious and imitative Roman literary tradition, for pastoral was a humble or low genre for which a modest and unstrenuous style was proper. But Virgil's epic style itself evolved. As he wrote the *Aeneid*, his diction and prosody became increasingly bolder and more flexible, especially

[1] For comparative statistics and lists of compounds and glosses in V. and his predecessors see Cordier, *op. cit.* Exx. in VIII are *laquearia* (25), *concolor* (82), *luctamen* (89), *inaccessus* (195), *ineluctabile* (334), *enarrabile* (625), *barbaricus* (685). Some of these are not found before V.: see Comm.

[2] 'nouae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus uerbis, atque ideo latentis': 'the inventor of a new kind of artificiality, neither extravagant nor affectedly simple, but based on common words and for that reason not at once perceived' (Camps).

[3] See the very useful article by L. P. Wilkinson, 'The language of Virgil and Horace', *C.Q.* N.S. 9 (1959) 181–92. It would, however, be misleading to press far any comparison between what V. achieved in his epic style and the experiments of Wordsworth with 'the language of ordinary men'.

in the later books where we find, in the words of F. W. H. Myers (*Essays classical* 138–9), 'a later manner in process of formation' and possibilities suggested for Latin poetry which no successor had the power to develop. This later manner (which has analogies with the 'later manner' of other great artists, as may be seen by comparing the prosody and diction of *Romeo and Juliet* with those of *Cymbeline*) perhaps first emerges fully in *Aeneid* XI, with its strikingly dramatic repetitions of *maestus* in the magnificent first hundred lines, its subtle metrical effects (e.g. the irony of 736–40), its use of unemphatic words at the end of lines (cf. Comm. 532), the number and variety of its elisions, especially in the last 120 lines, its exploitation of that oldest of Latin verse devices, alliteration:

> non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti
> discedens dederam, cum me complexus euntem
> mitteret in magnum imperium metuensque moneret

where Ennius' famous effect of the 'menacing m' (*machina multa minax minitatur maxima muris*) is transformed into a much more subtly interwoven alliterative pattern.

(ii) THE HEXAMETER[1]

This metre, taken over by the Romans from Greek literature (as in the sixteenth century blank verse was taken over into English poetry from Italian), became the standard instrument for several kinds or genres of poetic composition. First, it was used by Ennius for heroic epic, as it had been by Homer. Second, it was used for didactic epic, as it had been by Hesiod: here the pioneers in Latin were Cicero (whose translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena* survives only in fragments) and Lucretius; Virgil's contribution to this genre was the *Georgics*. Third, it was used by Virgil to introduce into Latin poetry the bucolic or pastoral poem, in imitation of Theocritus. Fourth, it was used (as we have seen) by Catullus in his poem *C.* 64, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, in imitation of the narrative or descriptive poems

[1] On the structure of the Latin hexameter see Allen 335–59. On the Virgilian hexameter see Wilkinson, *GLA* 131–2, 194–200. Lines in VIII of special metrical interest are discussed in the Commentary. Duckworth's analyses of V.'s metrical patterns are referred to in App. B.

of the Alexandrian poets. (These narrative and descriptive pieces might also include ecphrases inserted into longer poems, e.g. the story of Aristaeus in Virgil's fourth Georgic; the description of a work of art was a characteristic Alexandrian ecphrasis with Homeric origins; the concluding section of *Aeneid* VIII falls into this category.) Fifth, the hexameter was used by the Romans for verse-satire: in this 'low' genre, whose style was close to prose and whose subject matter was drawn from every-day life, licenses in prosody and diction were admitted by Augustan usage (e.g. by Horace) which were felt to be inappropriate to grander kinds of verse.

Virgil's chief contribution to the development of the Latin hexameter lay in his gradual abandoning of the single line as the unit of composition in favour of a paragraphic or periodic style in which the sense flows through a number of lines. In his early pastorals, the unit of sense is still the line, as it was for Catullus. Each line is normally simple in its texture and diction, self-contained in its syntax and symmetrical in its structure;

> Hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem
> fronde super uiridi: sunt nobis mitia poma,
> castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis;
> et iam summa procul uillarum culmina fumant
> maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.

In these concluding lines from the first Eclogue, the most notable features are the smoothness and regularity of the movement – there is no elision; there is only one example of enjambment, at the end of the first line, and this a weak one, for the line remains a complete sense-unit, the phrase 'fronde super uiridi' being, so to say, 'detachable'. The last two lines are of the same metrical type (see App. B) and offer an appropriately 'pastoral' cadence. The passage also includes various symmetrical arrangements of nouns and adjectives. The final line exemplifies the device known as 'enclosing word-order', in which the line begins with an adjective and ends with the corresponding noun (*maiores...umbrae*): lines of this type occur once in fifteen lines in Catullus. Indeed symmetrically constructed lines, in which nouns and adjectives are arranged in parallel or chiastically, occur about every seven lines in Catullus. The commonest type of symmetrical line is that exemplified in *Aen.* 8.2 (Comm.), 'extulit et *rauco* strepu-

erunt cornua *cantu*', in which the adjective at the third-foot caesura balances the noun at the end of the line. Virgil has lines of this type about once in eight lines in the first Eclogue. In the *Aeneid*, he greatly reduced his dependence on lines of these symmetrical types; indeed, many of the examples of such lines in the poem represent traditional epic formulations, often going back to Ennius (Comm. 2). The so-called 'golden line' (Comm. 319) is a particular kind of symmetrical structure used now and then by Virgil and Ovid with conscious and deliberate artistry.

Virgil also greatly reduced the incidence of spondaic and poly-syllabic endings which had been freely admitted by Lucretius and Catullus (Comm. 54). The result of these modifications was a verse technique much more flexible and flowing than that of Catullus, and one in which the qualities of harmony and euphony became important, though not, as they were for Virgil's successor Ovid, paramount. Along with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the *Aeneid* is the supreme embodiment of Augustan literary ideals. But it is a poem of national struggle, of heroic grandeur as well as 'Alexandrian' pathos, a poem in which too much mellifluousness would have been as inappropriate as would too much Ennian ruggedness and primitivism. The smoothness and decorum of Virgil's verse became a by-word in the renaissance: yet the modern student of the *Aeneid* is aware of one important respect in which its prosody was revolutionary. This is the use of elision, especially of long vowels and syllables in *-m*. Elisions occur about once in four lines in the *Aeneid* as against once in eight in the more mellifluous *Eclogues*. In Ennius' hexameters elision, like alliteration, was often clumsy to the point of barbarism. In the *Aeneid* elision is the means by which Virgil achieves some of his finest and subtlest onomatopoeic effects (cf. e.g. Comm. 572–81). Again, it is perhaps in *Aeneid* XI that Virgil's mastery of the effects of elision can best be studied.

(iii) PERIODS, PARAGRAPHS AND HEMISTICHS

In composing the *Aeneid* Virgil developed a 'periodic' structure in which the sense is diffused through two or three lines in a series of linked sentences or 'cola' (Comm. 1–6). This does not mean, however, that he used a complex syntax with many subordinate clauses: on the contrary, his syntax is largely paratactic, consisting of parallel

sentences, often arranged in threes, usually linked by the copulative,[1] but sometimes arranged in asyndeton. These parallel sentences were further linked by the frequent use of another rhetorical technique whereby a statement is reinforced or amplified once or twice. This figure, which Henry labelled 'theme and variation',[2] is common in elevated diction, whether prose or verse, throughout antiquity and in the renaissance. But Virgil's use of it is so conspicuous that it must be held to constitute a distinguishing feature of his epic style.

When a unit of discourse or period is completed, the sense-break sometimes occurs not at the end of the line but either at the end of the first foot of the line or at the second-foot caesura (Comm. 1–6, 62). This is also a hall-mark of Virgil's epic style and one which was deliberately imitated by Milton in *Paradise Lost*.[3] Several of these periods are then further combined into a larger unit or paragraph.[4]

A relationship is attested in the ancient Life of Virgil between his method of composing the *Aeneid* and the presence in it (and in no other ancient poem) of a number of incomplete lines (hemistichs) (Comm. 41) representing the temporary beginning or ending of a passage left unrevised at his death:

> Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in libris particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordine arripiens. ac ne quid impetum moraretur, quaedam imperfecta transmisit, alia leuissimis in uerbis ueluti fulsit, quae per iocum pro tibicinibus ("props") interponi aiebat, ad sustinendum opus donec solidae columnae aduenirent.

[1] *et* and *-que* are used more often by V. than by any other classical writer except Tacitus: Hellegouarc'h 261.

[2] In his note on *Aen.* 1.546–51.

[3] See Gransden, 'Paradise Lost and the Aeneid', *Essays in Criticism* 17 (1967) 293–4.

[4] V.'s narrative structure would be clearer if editors printed more paragraphs, a point made by Sabbadini and again by Duckworth, *Structural patterns* 88–9. Duckworth requires the additional paragraphs to support his thesis that V. composed the poem in accordance with Pythagorean numerical ratios, but they may be justified by a less arcane consideration, that they make the poem easier to follow. In particular, the practice of printing the concluding ecphrasis of VIII as a single paragraph of more than 100 lines obscures its clearly defined triadic structure. I have therefore indicated paragraphs at 213, 241, 268, 469, 626 (also in Mackail), 671, 714.

J. Sparrow (*Half-lines and repetitions in Virgil's Aeneid*, 1931) explains the props as formulaic lines which recur as stop-gaps or make-shifts throughout the poem. It should be noted that the *imperfecta* (hemistichs) themselves are of two kinds, those which follow on by enjambment from the previous line, rounding off a period (e.g. 8.41, 536), and those which begin a paragraph. The latter are often stock phrases which might have been variously expanded and which as they stand read like obvious stop-gaps, the jotting down of a formula which would serve to support the structure, as at 8.469, 10.490, 580.

The Life also records that Virgil himself completed, extempore, at a recital, 6.164 and 165; the actual example, of two consecutive lines, seems implausible, but it does attest the temporary nature of the hemistichs and also the probability that there were once more of them.[1] The Life further states that ancient editors tried unsuccessfully to complete the hemistichs (Comm. 41). To offer an experiment, the following passage (2.10–16) would still make complete sense if the words *fracti bello fatisque repulsi* in 13 had not been transmitted and the line as we had it consisted only of the word 'incipiam'.

> sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
> et breuiter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
> quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
> incipiam. fracti bello fatisque repulsi
> ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis
> instar montis equum diuina Palladis arte
> aedificant...

It must also be said that the fact that the hemistichs were not intended to be permanent is not necessarily incompatible with a modern response which may find some of them effective. As it happens, this does not apply to any of those in VIII, but it is (for instance) hard to see how anything could have been added to the dramatically powerful hemistich at 7.455, *bella manu letumque gero*, which ends the speech of Allecto to Turnus.

[1] Book II, which V. read to Augustus in 23 B.C., contains more hemistichs than any other book of the poem.

(iv) FEELING AND RHETORIC

In writing the *Aeneid*, Virgil drew on rhetorical techniques which formed the dominant cultural tradition of European literature from the time of the Greeks until the renaissance. The techniques and figures in which the *Aeneid* abounds were admired and imitated by poets from Lucan to Milton and quoted by literary critics and rhetoricians from Quintilian to Jonson. Many of them were first used by Homer; it was left to later writers, Greek and Roman, to elaborate them and to codify them. Thus, *Aeneid* VIII, like the rest of the poem, can furnish examples not only of such figures as simile, hyperbole, anaphora, epiphonema, etc., but also of the topics and set-pieces of epideictic literature:[1] we can find a *supplicatio*, a hymn, a disembarkation speech, a farewell speech, a *suasio*, and various descriptive 'digressions' or ecphrases. Such was the staple fare of literary composition throughout antiquity. It is only when we understand Virgil's use of rhetorical techniques that we can appreciate his originality as a poet. He never uses them merely for display: they never degenerate into mannerisms. This control is not just the result of the Augustan obsession with moderation; it is the product of that natural sense of the right balance between feeling and expression which distinguishes the great poet from the competent one. The rhetoric seldom exceeds or inflates the emotion. A good example in book VIII of this control is to be found in Evander's farewell speech, in which Virgil uses rhetorical forms and figures to express his profound empathy with a character and situation. This romanticism (for such we may call it) is in part a development of tendencies already present in later Greek poetry, but informed by a sense of vision and a moral purpose, an imaginative (or to use Coleridge's word, esemplastic[2]) power which was beyond the scope of his predecessors. The high style which Dante praised is ultimately nothing less than the exalted expression of certain feelings about human experience which have no counterpart

[1] See further the little-known but useful book by T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic literature* (Univ. of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology, 1902), and the more recent and accessible essay on oratory by S. Usher in *Greek and Latin literature*, ed. J. Higginbotham, 342–89.

[2] Literally, 'shaping into one': a peculiarly apt term for V.'s synthesising genius. See Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ch. 10.

in Greek literature. It is something peculiarly Roman, but also peculiarly Italian.

Some of the points made in the above notes can perhaps be summed up by analysing a complete paragraph from book VIII. The end of the description of Hercules' fight with Cacus (241–67) will serve. It is written in Virgil's grandest narrative style, yet the diction is never inflated or forced. The passage has an added interest in that, though narrative, it is spoken (to Aeneas and the reader) by Evander, and is therefore constructed, like the great narrative of Troy's fall in book II, as a vivid and dramatic recital intended to move the listener: the true function of the high style.

241–2 Enjambment; use of *ingens* (Comm. 43): hendiadys; theme and variation.

243–6 Simile, modelled on Homer and Apollonius but evoking Roman chthonic cults: *barathrum* is a Greek word, but naturalised since Plautus; enjambment; repeated metrical patterns (App. B).

247–50 Tricolon of three parallel clauses, *deprensum*...*inclusum*... *rudentem* (cf. Comm. 1–6); elisions of *ergo*, *saxa*, *omniaque* (the last in an uncommon position); repeated metrical pattern in 249–50.

251–5 Effective use of colourless or 'indifferent' words *ille*, *autem*, *neque enim*, *iam super ulla*; prosaic near-cliché *mirabile dictu*; in contrast, the rest of the period is elaborately onomatopoeic: *fumum*...*euomit inuoluitque domum*...*glomeratque*...*fumiferam noctem* ('interlaced' pattern of *ms*, *os* and *us*); elision of *prospectum* (cf. Comm. 11); *ingentem* again; Lucretian reminiscence *caligine caeca*; the compound *fumifer*, not attested before V.; more repeated metrical patterns; tricolon *euomit*...*inuoluitque*...*glomeratque* (theme and variation).

256–8 *ingens* again; enjambment as narrative pace quickens towards climax; *qua*...*atra*: theme and variation.

259–61 An intensely visualised picture; harshly onomatopoeic elision of *Cac(um) in tenebris*; alliterative pattern of *s*, *c* and *g* as the monster is gouged to death.

262–5 Tricolon; symmetrical structure of 263; effective sense-break at *protrahitur*.

265–7 Coda: three lines of same metrical pattern; effective and unusual caesural pattern of 267 (Comm.).

The most striking feature of this passage considered as a whole is the way in which a vivid picture of the smoke, fire and darkness of the cave has been composed by the repetition and *uariatio* of words with related meanings: *tenebrae, nox, fumus, fumifer, ignis, atra, caeca caligine, incendia, euomit, uomentem, umbrosae, specus, cauernae, antrum, barathrum.*

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The text reprinted here is that of the Oxford Classical Text *Vergili Opera* edited by Sir Roger Mynors, © Oxford University Press 1969, and is reproduced by permission of the Oxford University Press, Oxford. I have departed from the Oxford Text in the following instances: *oculi* for *oculis* at 223, *rutili* for *rutuli* at 430, a comma for a semi-colon at 587, and *in medio* for *it medio* at 588. The reasons for these changes are explained in the Commentary. I have also marked additional paragraphs as stated above (p. 47 n. 4).

SIGLA

F = Vaticanus lat. 3225, saec. iv
M = Florentinus Laur. xxxix. 1, saec. v
P = Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1631, saec. iv/v
R = Vaticanus lat. 3867, saec. v
V = fragmenta Veronensia, saec. v
$M^2P^2R^2$ corrector aliquis antiquus

Codices saeculi noni
a = Bernensis 172 cum Parisino lat. 7929
b = Bernensis 165
c = Bernensis 184
d = Bernensis 255+239
e = Bernensis 167
f = Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F. 2. 8
h = Valentianensis 407
r = Parisinus lat. 7926
s = Parisinus lat. 7928
t = Parisinus lat. 13043
u = Parisinus lat. 13044
v = Vaticanus lat. 1570
ω = consensus horum uel omnium uel quotquot non separatim nominantur

γ = Guelferbytanus Gudianus lat. 2°. 70
recc. = codices saec. nono recentiores

P. VERGILI MARONIS AENEIDOS LIBER OCTAVVS

VT belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,
utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma,
extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
coniurat trepido Latium saeuitque iuuentus
effera. ductores primi Messapus et Vfens
contemptorque deum Mezentius undique cogunt
auxilia et latos uastant cultoribus agros.
mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem
qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros,
aduectum Aenean classi uictosque penatis
inferre et fatis regem se dicere posci
edoceat, multasque uiro se adiungere gentis
Dardanio et late Latio increbrescere nomen:
quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur,
euentum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi
quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino.
  Talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros
cuncta uidens magno curarum fluctuat aestu,
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc
in partisque rapit uarias perque omnia uersat,
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia peruolitat late loca, iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.
nox erat et terras animalia fessa per omnis
alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat,
cum pater in ripa gelidique sub aetheris axe

1–13 *MPR*   2 sonuerunt P^1 10 considere (*A.* vi 67) P^2 14–39 *MPRV*   25 lacuaria '*multi*' *ap. Seru., schol. Veron.*

Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello,
procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem.
huic deus ipse loci fluuio Tiberinus amoeno
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
uisus (eum tenuis glauco uelabat amictu
carbasus, et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo),
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
'O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
qui reuehis nobis aeternaque Pergama seruas,
exspectate solo Laurenti aruisque Latinis,
hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates.
neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae
concessere deum.
iamque tibi, ne uana putes haec fingere somnum,
litoreis ingens inuenta sub ilicibus sus
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
[hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,]
ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.
haud incerta cano. nunc qua ratione quod instat
expedias uictor, paucis (aduerte) docebo.
Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
Pallantis proaui de nomine Pallanteum.
hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;
hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.
ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam,
aduersum remis superes subuectus ut amnem.
surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris

29 pectore M^1 40–70 *MPR* 41 *addit* profugis noua moenia Teucris (*cf. A.* x 158) '*mire quidam*' *ap. Seru.* 42–9 (cano) *seclusit Ribbeck* 43–6 = *A.* iii 390–3; 46 *om. hinc M Par, habent Rω* 50 expedias M^1P^1 *Rω*; expediam (*A.* vi 759, xi 315) M^2P^2*det* 56 foedere *Pbr, agnoscit Seru.* (*cf. A.* iv 112)

Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque
supplicibus supera uotis. mihi uictor honorem
persolues. ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis
stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem,
caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.
hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.'
  Dixit, deinde lacu fluuius se condidit alto
ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque reliquit.
surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
lumina rite cauis undam de flumine palmis
sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera uoces:
'Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
fonte tenent, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,
semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum.
adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes.'
sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis
remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis.
  Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,
candida per siluam cum fetu concolor albo
procubuit uiridique in litore conspicitur sus;
quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno,
mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram.
Thybris ea fluuium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.

60 irasque *ω*(*praeter abfr*) 61 uotis] donis (*A.* iii 439) *d* 63 pinguia] singula *M*[1] 65 magna] certa (*u.* 39) *P* 67 relinquit *Raceuo* 70 sustulit *ω*(*praeter ar*) 71–92 *FMPR* 75 tenent *FR* (lacus *duodecies alibi plurali occurrit numero*): tenet *MPω*, *Seru.* 78 tandem *d* proprius *P*[1], *agnoscit Seru.*

ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo:
labitur uncta uadis abies; mirantur et undae,
miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
scuta uirum fluuio pictasque innare carinas.
olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant
et longos superant flexus, uariisque teguntur
arboribus, uiridisque secant placido aequore siluas.
sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem
cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
tecta uident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
aequauit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.
ocius aduertunt proras urbique propinquant.
Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno diuisque ferebat
ante urbem in luco. Pallas huic filius una,
una omnes iuuenum primi pauperque senatus
tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras.
ut celsas uidere rates atque inter opacum
adlabi nemus et tacitos incumbere remis,
terrentur uisu subito cunctique relictis
consurgunt mensis. audax quos rumpere Pallas
sacra uetat raptoque uolat telo obuius ipse,
et procul e tumulo: 'iuuenes, quae causa subegit
ignotas temptare uias? quo tenditis?' inquit.
'qui genus? unde domo? pacemne huc fertis an arma?'
tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta
paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit oliuae:
'Troiugenas ac tela uides inimica Latinis,
quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.
Euandrum petimus. ferte haec et dicite lectos
Dardaniae uenisse duces socia arma rogantis.'

90 celerant] peragunt (*A.* vi 384) *R*, *Macrob.* vi 1. 37, *Non.* 385. 7 Rumone *M*[1], *agnoscit Seru.* 92 mirantur *Fγ* 93–8 *FMPRV*; 99–118 *MPRV* 100 tunc *Rberw*, *Tib.* 102 sollemne *PR*, *Non.* 320. 15 108 tacitis *df*, *Seru.* 115 tunc *R* fatus *P* 119–731 *MPR*

obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas:
'egredere o quicumque es' ait 'coramque parentem
adloquere ac nostris succede penatibus hospes.'
excepitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit;
progressi subeunt luco fluuiumque relinquunt.
  Tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis:
'optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari
et uitta comptos uoluit praetendere ramos,
non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas
quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis;
sed mea me uirtus et sancta oracula diuum
cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
coniunxere tibi et fatis egere uolentem.
Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
aduehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.
uobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenae gelido conceptum uertice fudit;
at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas,
idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.
sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem
temptamenta tui pepigi; me, me ipse meumque
obieci caput et supplex ad limina ueni.
gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello
insequitur; nos si pellant nihil afore credunt
quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant,
et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.
accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello
pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuuentus.'

121 percussus *MPdfhrst*, *Seru.*: perculsus *Rabceuv*, *Tib.* (*cf. G.* ii 476, *A.* i 513) 122 parente *deu* 123 ac] et M^1, *Non.* 403. 23 132 didita *MPchsu*, *Seru.*: dedita *R*ω 139 fundit P^1 140 cuiquam *R* creditis *P* 147 afore P^1*bfrs*: adfore (aff-) $M^2P^2\omega$ (atf- M^1): fore *R*: offore *fortasse Seru.*

Dixerat Aeneas. ille os oculosque loquentis
iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.
tum sic pauca refert: 'ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
accipio agnoscoque libens! ut uerba parentis
et uocem Anchisae magni uultumque recordor!
nam memini Hesionae uisentem regna sororis
Laomedontiaden Priamum Salamina petentem
protinus Arcadiae gelidos inuisere finis.
tum mihi prima genas uestibat flore iuuentas,
mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum
Laomedontiaden; sed cunctis altior ibat
Anchises. mihi mens iuuenali ardebat amore
compellare uirum et dextrae coniungere dextram;
accessi et cupidus Phenei sub moenia duxi.
ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas
discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam,
frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas.
ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra,
et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,
auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuuabo.
interea sacra haec, quando huc uenistis amici,
annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate fauentes
nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis.'
Haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi
pocula gramineoque uiros locat ipse sedili,
praecipuumque toro et uillosi pelle leonis
accipit Aenean solioque inuitat acerno.
tum lecti iuuenes certatim araeque sacerdos
uiscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris
dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.
uescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuuentus
perpetui tergo bouis et lustralibus extis.
Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi,
rec Euandrus ait: 'non haec sollemnia nobis,

160 iuuentus *cdefh* 167 intertexto *P*[1]*Rd*, *agnoscit Seru.* 182 et] ac *aeuv*

has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
uana superstitio ueterumque ignara deorum
imposuit: saeuis, hospes Troiane, periclis
seruati facimus meritosque nouamus honores.
iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.
huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
ore uomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.
attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas
auxilium aduentumque dei. nam maximus ultor
tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus
Alcides aderat taurosque hac uictor agebat
ingentis, uallemque boues amnemque tenebant.
at furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
aut intractatum scelerisue doliue fuisset,
quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
auertit, totidem forma superante iuuencas.
atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus uestigia rectis,
cauda in speluncam tractos uersisque uiarum
indiciis raptor saxo occultabat opaco;
quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.
  Interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moueret
Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,
discessu mugire boues atque omne querelis

190 primum] pridem *Rbruv*, *agnoscit Tib.* 191 deiectae *R* 194 tenebat $M^2\omega$: tegebat $M^1PRabhrv$, *Tib.* 197 squallida *M* 202 Geryonae *Pacfh* (-ne *Mu*), *Seru. hic et ad A.* vii 662: -ni *R*: -nis *bdt*: -nes *rv*, *Tib.*: -neis *e* 205 furis $M^1\omega$ (furi *s*), *Seru.*: furiis M^2PRbrt, *Tib.* 206 intemptatum M^2dhst 211 raptor *Wakefield*, *collato Prop.* iv 9. 9: raptos *codd.* 212 quaerentes *Ru*, -tis *br*: -tem *recc.* 214 parabat M^1

impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui.
reddidit una boum uocem uastoque sub antro
mugiit et Caci spem custodita fefellit.
hic uero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro
felle dolor: rapit arma manu nodisque grauatum
robur, et aërii cursu petit ardua montis.
tum primum nostri Cacum uidere timentem
turbatumque oculi; fugit ilicet ocior Euro
speluncamque petit, pedibus timor addidit alas.
ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis
deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis,
ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius omnemque
accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,
dentibus infrendens. ter totum feruidus ira
lustrat Auentini montem, ter saxea temptat
limina nequiquam, ter fessus ualle resedit.
stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima uisu,
dirarum nidis domus opportuna uolucrum.
hanc, ut prona iugo laeuum incumbebat ad amnem,
dexter in aduersum nitens concussit et imis
auulsam soluit radicibus, inde repente
impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.
At specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cauernae,
non secus ac si qua penitus ui terra dehiscens
infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis inuisa, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.

221 et aerii *M^2PR def?v*: aetherii *M^1rt* (et haerii *b*): et aetherii *chu* 223 oculi '*alii*' *ap. Seru.*: oculis *codd., Seru., Tib.*: oculos *γ* 238 aduolsam *M^1* 239 intonat *MP*: insonat *Rω* (*cf. A.* vii 515) 244 reseret *M^1ber Macrob.* v 16. 14, *Seru.*: reserat *M^2PRω, Non.* 41. 13 246 trepidantque *R*

ergo insperata deprensum luce repente
inclusumque cauo saxo atque insueta rudentem
desuper Alcides telis premit, omniaque arma
aduocat et ramis uastisque molaribus instat.
ille autem, neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,
faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
euomit inuoluitque domum caligine caeca
prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris.
non tulit Alcides animis, seque ipse per ignem
praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam
fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra.
hic Cacum in tenebris incendia uana uomentem
corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens
elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.
panditur extemplo foribus domus atra reuulsis
abstractaeque boues abiurataeque rapinae
caelo ostenduntur, pedibusque informe cadauer
protrahitur. nequeunt expleri corda tuendo
terribilis oculos, uultum uillosaque saetis
pectora semiferi atque exstinctos faucibus ignis.
  Ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
seruauere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri
hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
quare agite, o iuuenes, tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris,
communemque uocate deum et date uina uolentes.'
dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra
uelauitque comas foliisque innexa pependit,

247 luce *M*¹*P*: in luce *M*²*R*ω   251 pericli est *Pcefhv* (est pericli *u*), *DSeru. ad A.* iii 489 (*cf. A.* v 716)   257 iecit *MRbdrt*: iniecit *P*ω   261 elidens '*multi*' *ap. Seru.*   262 exemplo *P*¹*Rb*´ atra] alta (*G.* ii 461) *P*¹   277 innexa] inmissa *ps.Probus ad G.* ii 66

et sacer impleuit dextram scyphus. ocius omnes
in mensam laeti libant diuosque precantur.
 Deuexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympo.
iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant
pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.
instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae
dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum
populeis adsunt euincti tempora ramis,
hic iuuenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut prima nouercae
monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis,
ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes,
Troiamque Oechaliamque, ut duros mille labores
rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae
pertulerit. 'tu nubigenas, inuicte, bimembris
Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas
prodigia et uastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem.
te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci
ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento;
nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus
arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem
Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis.
salue, uera Iouis proles, decus addite diuis,
et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.'
talia carminibus celebrant: super omnia Caci
speluncam adiciunt spirantemque ignibus ipsum.
consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant.
 Exim se cuncti diuinis rebus ad urbem
perfectis referunt. ibat rex obsitus aeuo,
et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat
ingrediens uarioque uiam sermone leuabat.

280 propior *Pbcfhw* 282 flammamque *R* 288 ferant M^1 291 Oechaliam eduros M^1 ut] et *Rbr*, *Macrob*. vi 6. 14 295 Nemeae $P^1\omega$, *Seru*.: Nemea P^2Rb, Nemaea *M*

miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
exquiritque auditque uirum monimenta priorum.
tum rex Euandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
'haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant
gensque uirum truncis et duro robore nata,
quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros
aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
sed rami atque asper uictu uenatus alebat.
primus ab aetherio uenit Saturnus Olympo
arma Iouis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis.
is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque uocari
maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat,
deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
et belli rabies et amor successit habendi.
tum manus Ausonia et gentes uenere Sicanae,
saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris,
a quo post Itali fluuium cognomine Thybrim
diximus; amisit uerum uetus Albula nomen.
me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.'
  Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
uatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros

317 parto] rapto *M*[1] 324 aurea quae *MP*[2]*Rω*, *Aug. c.d.* xviii 15, *Lact. inst.* i 14: aureaque *P*[1]: aureaque ut (*G.* i 247, *A.* iv 179) *ωω* fuerunt *Pc* 328 Ausonia *MP*: Ausoniae *Rω* 337 aram] arma *M*[1]*R* 338 Romani *MPγhr*: Romano *Rω*

Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.
hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.
nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti
testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi.
hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis.
iam tum religio pauidos terrebat agrestis
dira loci, iam tum siluam saxumque tremebant.
'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso uertice collem
(quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
credunt se uidisse Iouem, cum saepe nigrantem
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.
haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris,
reliquias ueterumque uides monimenta uirorum.
hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'
talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta uidebant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
ut uentum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina uictor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque ueni non asper egenis.'
dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locauit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae:
nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.
At Venus haud animo nequiquam exterrita mater
Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu
Volcanum adloquitur, thalamoque haec coniugis aureo

341 nobile] nomine *P²R* 344 Parnasio *R* 350 siluas *R* tenebant *M¹* 357 arcem *M¹Pω*: urbem (*A.* i 5) *M²Rabdfr* 361 latis *M¹* cauernis *R* 362 uictor] nobis *br* 365 deos *P¹*

incipit et dictis diuinum aspirat amorem:
'dum bello Argolici uastabant Pergama reges
debita casurasque inimicis ignibus arces,
non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogaui
artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,
incassumue tuos uolui exercere labores,
quamuis et Priami deberem plurima natis,
et durum Aeneae fleuissem saepe laborem.
nunc Iouis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
ergo eadem supplex uenio et sanctum mihi numen
arma rogo, genetrix nato. te filia Nerei,
te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.
aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis
ferrum acuant portis in me excidiumque meorum.'
dixerat et niueis hinc atque hinc diua lacertis
cunctantem amplexu molli fouet. ille repente
accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
intrauit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,
non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco
ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos;
sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx.
tum pater aeterno fatur deuinctus amore:
'quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit
quo tibi, diua, mei? similis si cura fuisset,
tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;
nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata uetabant
stare decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.
et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est,
quidquid in arte mea possum promittere curae,
quod fieri ferro liquidoue potest electro,
quantum ignes animaeque ualent, absiste precando

377 opisue *dt*, *Tib.* 378 incassumque M^1 381 imperio *dht*, *Seru.* 382 nomen P^1 386 ferrum] bellum *DSeru. ad A.* ii 27 391 non] haut (*u.* 414) *M* 394 deuictus *P¹cdhrstu* 397 tunc *aeruv* Teucros nobis *P¹c*

uiribus indubitare tuis.' ea uerba locutus
optatos dedit amplexus placidumque petiuit
coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.
  Inde ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactae
curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
cui tolerare colo uitam tenuique Minerua
impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis
noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
exercet penso, castum ut seruare cubile
coniugis et possit paruos educere natos:
haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo
mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit.
insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque
erigitur Liparen fumantibus ardua saxis,
quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis
antra Aetnaea tonant, ualidique incudibus ictus
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cauernis
stricturae Chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat,
Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.
hoc tunc ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto.
ferrum exercebant uasto Cyclopes in antro,
Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyracmon.
his informatum manibus iam parte polita
fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
deicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.
tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae
addiderant, rutili tris ignis et alitis Austri.
fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
miscebant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.
parte alia Marti currumque rotasque uolucris
instabant, quibus ille uiros, quibus excitat urbes;

406 infusus *MP²ω, Gramm.*: infusum *P¹R, Probus et Carminius ap. Seru.* 409 calathisque Mineruae (*A.* vii 805) *dt* 412 exercens *M* 420 gemitus *P*: -tu *Md*: -tum *Rω, Tib.* 423 huc tum *P*; hoc *pro* huc *positum testantur Prisc.* i 34 *et* xv 6, *Seru. hic et ad A.* i 4 431 horrificos *Rd*

aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma,
certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant
conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore diuae
Gorgona desecto uertentem lumina collo.
'tollite cuncta' inquit 'coeptosque auferte labores,
Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc aduertite mentem:
arma acri facienda uiro. nunc uiribus usus,
nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra.
praecipitate moras.' nec plura effatus, at illi
ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem
sortiti. fluit aes riuis aurique metallum
uulnificusque chalybs uasta fornace liquescit.
ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra
tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus orbis
impediunt. alii uentosis follibus auras
accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus antrum;
illi inter sese multa ui bracchia tollunt
in numerum, uersantque tenaci forcipe massam.
  Haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris,
Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitat alma
et matutini uolucrum sub culmine cantus.
consurgit senior tunicaque inducitur artus
et Tyrrhena pedum circumdat uincula plantis.
tum lateri atque umeris Tegeaeum subligat ensem
demissa ab laeua pantherae terga retorquens.
nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto
praecedunt gressumque canes comitantur erilem.
hospitis Aeneae sedem et secreta petebat
sermonum memor et promissi muneris heros.
nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat;
filius huic Pallas, illi comes ibat Achates.

443 at] et *P¹dt*   459 Tegeaeum *Seru. ad A.* v 299: Tegaeum *Pω*: Tegeum *MRdf*   460 pantherea *P¹*   461 arto *Markland ad Stat. silu.* i 1. 46, *collatis uu.* 360, 455   462 procedunt *P¹*

congressi iungunt dextras mediisque residunt
aedibus et licito tandem sermone fruuntur.
Rex prior haec:
'maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam
res equidem Troiae uictas aut regna fatebor,
nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto
exiguae uires; hinc Tusco claudimur amni,
hinc Rutulus premit et murum circumsonat armis.
sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis
iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem
ostentat: fatis huc te poscentibus adfers.
haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata uetusto
urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis.
hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
imperio et saeuis tenuit Mezentius armis.
quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera? di capiti ipsius generique reseruent!
mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora uiuis
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.
at fessi tandem ciues infanda furentem
armati circumsistunt ipsumque domumque,
obtruncant socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant.
ille inter caedem Rutulorum elapsus in agros
confugere et Turni defendier hospitis armis.
ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis,
regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt.
his ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam.
toto namque fremunt condensae litore puppes
signaque ferre iubent, retinet longaeuus haruspex
fata canens: "o Maeoniae delecta iuuentus,

472 numine P^1 477 '*legimus et* adfer *et* adfers' *Seru.* 492 caedem *M^1Rdfi*: caedes (*A.* viii 709, xi 648, 729) *M^2Pω*

flos ueterum uirtusque uirum, quos iustus in hostem
fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira,
nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:
externos optate duces." tum Etrusca resedit
hoc acies campo monitis exterrita diuum.
ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam
cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon,
succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam.
sed mihi tarda gelu saeclisque effeta senectus
inuidet imperium seraeque ad fortia uires.
natum exhortarer, ni mixtus matre Sabella
hinc partem patriae traheret. tu, cuius et annis
et generi fatum indulget, quem numina poscunt,
ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor.
hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,
Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro
militiam et graue Martis opus, tua cernere facta
adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis.
Arcadas huic equites bis centum, robora pubis
lecta dabo, totidemque suo tibi nomine Pallas.'
Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates,
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.
namque improuiso uibratus ab aethere fulgor
cum sonitu uenit et ruere omnia uisa repente,
Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
suspiciunt, iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens.
arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
per sudum rutilare uident et pulsa tonare.

512 fatum *PRω*, *DSeru.*: fata *Mc* (fato *u*) indulget P^1 (*correctum in* -ges) *ω*, *DSeru.* (-geet *R*): -gent MP^2cu 514 nunc *dt* 519 tuo sibi M^1: suo sibi P^2 nomine *Mω*, *Seru.*: munere *PRb* 527 suscipiunt *Rahrv* increpat] intonat (*A.* ix 709) *acehuv* (insonat *f*), *Seru.* 528 nubes *Non.* 31. 17 in *om.* M^1, *Non.* 529 tonare $M^2ω$ (torare M^1), *DSeru.*: sonare *PRc*

obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros
agnouit sonitum et diuae promissa parentis.
tum memorat: 'ne uero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.
hoc signum cecinit missuram diua creatrix,
si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
laturam auxilio.
heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uolues,
Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.'
Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto
et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras
excitat, hesternumque larem paruosque penatis
laetus adit; mactat lectas de more bidentis
Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuuentus.
post hinc ad nauis graditur sociosque reuisit,
quorum de numero qui sese in bella sequantur
praestantis uirtute legit; pars cetera prona
fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluit amni,
nuntia uentura Ascanio rerumque patrisque.
dantur equi Teucris Tyrrhena petentibus arua;
ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulua leonis
pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis.
Fama uolat paruam subito uulgata per urbem
ocius ire equites Tyrrheni ad limina regis.
uota metu duplicant matres, propiusque periclo
it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.
tum pater Euandrus dextram complexus euntis
haeret inexpletus lacrimans ac talia fatur:

533 '*alii* Olympo *sequentibus iungunt*' *DSeru.* 538 unda *Rb* (*cf. A.* i 100) 543 suscitat *R* (*cf. A.* v 743, viii 410) hesternumque *Pω*: externumque *MRa*, '*male quidam*' *ap. Seru.* 544 mactant (*A.* iv 57) *M* 555 Tyrrhena *P* limina *Pcefsuv*: litora *MRa?bdhrt* 556 propriusque *PRr* 559 inexpletus *MP*ⁿ*bdrt* (inpletus *R*; *cf. G.* iv 370): -tum *P*¹*ω*: in amplexu *ac?*

'o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos,
qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa
straui scutorumque incendi uictor aceruos
et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi,
nascenti cui tris animas Feronia mater
(horrendum dictu) dederat, terna arma mouenda –
ter leto sternendus erat; cui tunc tamen omnis
abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exuit armis:
non ego nunc dulci amplexu diuellerer usquam,
nate, tuo, neque finitimo Mezentius umquam
huic capiti insultans tot ferro saeua dedisset
funera, tam multis uiduasset ciuibus urbem.
at uos, o superi, et diuum tu maxime rector
Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
et patrias audite preces. si numina uestra
incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reseruant,
si uisurus eum uiuo et uenturus in unum,
uitam oro, patior quemuis durare laborem.
sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere uitam,
dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,
dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera uoluptas,
complexu teneo, grauior neu nuntius auris
uulneret.' haec genitor digressu dicta supremo
fundebat; famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.
Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis
Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,
inde alii Troiae proceres, ipse agmine Pallas
in medio chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,

lacrimis *Md* inexpletus, lacrimans '*multi*' *ap. Seru.*, -tus lacrimis '*alii*', '*honestius*' -tum lacrimans 561 primum *R* 566 tum *br* 569 finitimos *P*[1] umquam *Mabdhs?t*: usquam *PRcefruw* 572 at *M*[2]*ω*: ad *M*[1]*PR* 577 patiar *P*[2]*cefhw* 579 nunc o nunc *R* (*cf. A.* ii 644) 581 sola et sera *MRω*, *Auson. cento* 88, *Seru.*: sera et sola *Pbr*, *Seru. ad A.* ix 482 582 complexus *M*[2]*Rr* ne *P*[2]*ω* (om. *c*, nec *v*), *Non.* 315. 13, *Don. ad Ter. Hec.* 637 583 dicta] maesta (*A.* iii 482) *M*[1] 588 in] it *Markland ad Stat. silu.* v i. 245

qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resoluit.
stant pauidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur
puluerearn nubem et fulgentis aere cateruas.
olli per dumos, qua proxima meta uiarum,
armati tendunt; it clamor, et agmine facto
quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.
est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,
religione patrum late sacer; undique colles
inclusere caui et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
Siluano fama est ueteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
aruorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.
haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
castra locis, celsoque omnis de colle uideri
iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in aruis.
huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuuentus
succedunt, fessique et equos et corpora curant.
  At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
dona ferens aderat; natumque in ualle reducta
ut procul egelido secretum flumine uidit,
talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro:
'en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
munera. ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.'
dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea petiuit,
arma sub aduersa posuit radiantia quercu.
ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore
expleri nequit atque oculos per singula uoluit,
miraturque interque manus et bracchia uersat
terribilem cristis galeam flammasque uomentem,
fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem,

610 egelido *M¹acfuv, Seru.*: et gelido *M²PRbdhrt* (gelido *e*)   620 minantem *P*   621 loricamque *aer?uv*

sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerula nubes
solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget;
tum leuis ocreas electro auroque recocto,
hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum.
  Illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
haud uatum ignarus uenturique inscius aeui
fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.
fecerat et uiridi fetam Mauortis in antro
procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
impauidos, illam tereti ceruice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.
nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas
consessu caueae, magnis Circensibus actis,
addiderat, subitoque nouum consurgere bellum
Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque seueris.
post idem inter se posito certamine reges
armati Iouis ante aram paterasque tenentes
stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.
haud procul inde citae Mettum in diuersa quadrigae
distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!),
raptabatque uiri mendacis uiscera Tullus
per siluam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine uepres.
nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat
accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;
Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.
illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
aspiceres, pontem auderet quia uellere Cocles
et fluuium uinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis.
in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat,

628 omnipotens *M*   633 reflexa M^2*PRabrt*: reflexam $M^1\omega$ 640 aras *Rbdt*   pateramque *M*   642 medium M^1 652 Manlius M^2*Pcfrst*: Manulus M^1: Malius *R*: Mallius ω

Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
atque hic auratis uolitans argenteus anser
porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;
Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant
defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.
aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea uestis,
uirgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla
auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant
gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.
hic exsultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos
lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem
pilentis matres in mollibus. hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.
  Haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago
aurea, sed fluctu spumabant caerula cano,
et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora uerrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte uideres
feruere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,
stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammas
laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur uertice sidus.
parte alia uentis et dis Agrippa secundis
arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum,
tempora nauali fulgent rostrata corona.
hinc ope barbarica uariisque Antonius armis,

657 Galli] olli *R*   660 tunc *P*: cum *dt*   661 coruscant *MRadfht*: -cat *Pbcerw*   672 spumabant *ω*: -bat *MPRbrt*, *utrumque* (*ut uid.*) *Seru.*   680 stat *Rbr* cui] huic *P*[1]

uictor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
Aegyptum uirisque Orientis et ultima secum
Bactra uehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.
una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis
conuulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
alta petunt; pelago credas innare reuulsas
Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos,
tanta mole uiri turritis puppibus instant.
stuppea flamma manu telisque uolatile ferrum
spargitur, arua noua Neptunia caede rubescunt.
regina in mediis patrio uocat agmina sistro,
necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.
omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Mineruam
tela tenent. saeuit medio in certamine Mauors
caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae,
et scissa gaudens uadit Discordia palla,
quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.
Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
desuper; omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
omnis Arabs, omnes uertebant terga Sabaei.
ipsa uidebatur uentis regina uocatis
uela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.
illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
fecerat ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri,
contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota ueste uocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina uictos.
   At Caesar, triplici inuectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis uotum immortale sacrabat,
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
laetitia ludisque uiae plausuque fremebant;

690 stridentibus (*cf. A.* v 143) *Rω* (*praeter b*); -que *om. ch*   692 altis *ah*, '*alii*' *ap. Seru.*   701 dirae *M*[1]*Pabcerv*: diuae (*cf. A.* iv 473) *M*[2]*Rdfhstu*   704 tendebat *P*

omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
ante aras terram caesi strauere iuuenci.
ipse sedens niueo candentis limine Phoebi
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus; incedunt uictae longo ordine gentes,
quam uariae linguis, habitu tam uestis et armis.
hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,
hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos
finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,
extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes.
Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

722 gentes] matres (*A*. ii 766) *R* 724 hinc *Pbs* Mulcifer *ω* 725 hinc *Pbcfsuv* 731 fata] facta *cesuv*, *utrumque agnoscit DSeru.*

COMMENTARY

1–17

Prologue. Turnus, having assumed the leadership of the Italians, gives the signal for war against the Trojans.

1–6 Vt...effera The book begins with an extended rhetorical period in V.'s characteristic paratactic style. The main sentence is the tricolon *turbati* (sc. *sunt*) *animi, simul... Latium, saeuitque...effera,* forming a theme and two variations (see further Introd. 4 (iii)). Syntactically subordinate to the tricolon, but describing events of no lesser importance, is the series of *ut*-clauses (*ut* = 'when', 'as soon as') with which the period opens. Here the articulation is complicated by the fact that the first two lines comprise a theme and variation, 'Turnus gave the war-signal and the horns sounded', so that the *ut*-sequence is in effect also a tricolon, each clause having Turnus as its subject, the first clause being extended by epexegesis (cf. 38n.) to permit a change of grammatical subject.

Also characteristic are the enjambment between lines 5 and 6 and the placing of the sense-break after the first foot of line 6 (see Introd. and cf. 325, 332, 722, 726). A sense of excitement and anticipation is built up by the arrangement of each tricolon as a crescendo, with the emphasis falling on *arma* and *effera,* as well as by onomatopoeic devices, notably the repeated *au* and *u* sounds and the alliterative pattern of *cs* and *ts*.

1 Laurenti is an adj. agreeing with *arce*. The people called Laurentes lived in the *ager Laurens* or *Laurentinus,* to the south of Rome. Their capital Lavinium was traditionally founded by Aen. (App. A), presumably on the site of the unnamed *arx* of their king Latinus. The relationship between the name of the tribe and region and that of the city is disputed. V. uses such phrases as *Laurentia arua* (7.661–2) and *Lauinia litora* (1.2–3) indifferently. See further Ogilvie 38, Alföldi 246 n. 3.

Turnus: king of the Rutuli and Aen.'s rival for the hand of Latinus' daughter Lavinia (cf. the Dido–Iarbas situation in book IV).

He became the leader of opposition to the Trojan settlement; his death at the hand of Aen. forms the conclusion of the poem. The name is Etruscan (= Tyrrhenus?): Ogilvie 200.

2 **rauco...cantu:** for this type of symmetrical line, in which the adj. at the third-foot caesura agrees with the noun at the end, see Introd. 4 (ii) and cf. 29, 68–70 etc. Onomatopoeic lines describing the war-trumpet occur frequently in hexameter verse: cf. Ennius' notorious *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit* (imitated by V. at 9.503), Lucretius 2.619 *raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu*, *Aen.* 7.615 *aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.*

The *tuba* (which was straight, whereas the *cornu* was curved) was supposed to be of Etruscan origin (526n.): both instruments were used in the army in V.'s time. His use of such formulas in an epic poem is not merely conventional, but part of a deliberate Romanisation of the trappings of heroic warfare. See further Heinze 196, and n. on 605.

4 **extemplo turbati animi** occurs again at 11.451, and cf. also *extemplo turbatae acies*, 11.618. For the metrical pattern (caesura at second and fourth feet with elision of long vowel across third-foot caesura) cf. 101, 478, 481, 532, 561, and see Soubiran 311–15.

6 **Messapus et Vfens:** these heroes, together with the much more important Mezentius (see next n.), are included in the 'catalogue' of Latin leaders opposed to Aen. which forms the conclusion of VII. Messapus, 'tamer of horses' and son of Neptune, occurs at 7.691–4: see Fowler, *Virgil's gathering of the clans* 61–6; Ufens occurs at 7.744–9. Messapus is mentioned quite frequently in books IX–XII; Ufens occurs again only in XII where his death is noted at 460 and mentioned by Turnus in his last speech (12.641).

7 **contemptor...deum Mezentius:** echoed from 7.648, where Mezentius heads the 'catalogue' of Latin leaders (as Turnus ends it, if one regards the portrait of Camilla as a kind of 'pendant': see R. D. Williams, 'The function and structure of Virgil's Catalogue in *Aeneid* 7', *C.Q.* N.S. 11 (1961) 146–53). For V. he is second in importance only to Turnus as an enemy of Rome, analogous in *Aen.* VIII to Cacus, Tarquinius, Catiline, Antony: the tradition of his alliance with Turnus against Aen. goes back to Cato (*Origines* fr. 11).

There were various stories about him, which V. adapts to suit his own requirements. In one version he was killed not by Aen. as in V. but by Latinus (Galinsky 149–50); in another, he survived Aen. and fought Ascanius (Servius on 1.267). In V. he is the hated and exiled king of Caere (an account of his tyrannous régime is given to Aen. by Evander at 8.481ff.), a bad Etruscan contrasted with the good Etruscan Tarchon (506n.). In his account of his defeat, V. transposes into archaic times the story of Rome's long struggle against the Etruscans which culminated in the siege and fall of Veii: Ogilvie 40–1, Grant 199–200. For V. his 'impiety' (disregard of divine sanctions) makes him a traditional anti-type of Aen.: *contemptor deum* (like *pius*) is a conventional attribute; it cannot be translated (as Dryden does) 'blasphemer'.

contemptor: cf. 9.205 *contemptor lucis*, and 6.620 where Phlegyas in Tartarus utters his eternal warning, *discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere diuos*.

8 **latos uastant cultoribus agros** 'deprive the fields of husbandmen' (because they were being conscripted for the coming war) 'over a wide area': *latos* is to be taken predicatively and not (with Page) as a 'conventional epithet'. *uastant* is used in its literal sense of 'make empty' (not 'destroy'): cf. Livy 3.32.2 *uastati agri sunt*.

9ff The failure of Venulus' mission to Diomede is reported in full at 11.225–95. It forms an obvious contrast with the success of Aen.'s own forthcoming mission to Evander, a point underlined by Ovid, *Met.* 14.456–8 *neque Aeneas Euandri ad moenia frustra, | at Venulus frustra profugi Diomedis ad urbem | uenerat*.

10–17 As Highet notes, 55–6, this passage outlines in *oratio obliqua* the formal speech or 'diplomatic note' which Venulus would deliver, asking for help and including an appraisal of the military situation. For another piece of extended *oratio obliqua* see the reported words of Rumour at 4.191–4.

10 This type of line, in which there is an elision before (or, more correctly, an aphaeresis of) a monosyllable (most commonly *et*) at the beginning of the third foot, is a special favourite of V.'s: cf. 17, 23, 35, 78, etc. See Soubiran 181–3, 286, 526–8; Hellegouarc'h 135–50. Soubiran notes that the word elided before the monosyllable is

seldom an iambus (*locum* 53) and more often ends with a long vowel or *-m* than a short vowel (*sacra haec*, 172).

Latio consistere Teucros: the phrase recalls Anchises' question to Aen. at 6.807, *metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?* which is here answered: the Trojans are prepared to stand firm in Latium. This is the *certa domus* (39n.).

11 aduectum Aenean: elision at the beginning of the second foot is frequently found in the *Aeneid*: Soubiran 521.

classi is ablative: V. nowhere else has the form with *classis*, but he several times uses *amni* for *amne* (e.g. 473, 549).

uictosque penatis occurs in Juno's first speech, 1.68, on which Conway notes 'the taunt is repeated at 8.11'. The envoy's reported words here possibly do reflect the anger and contempt of Turnus towards Aen. (and see also 16–17n.), but it should be remembered that the defeated gods of Troy are almost a cliché of the Aeneas legend: Aen. himself refers to his *uictos deos* at 2.320.

penatis inferre is also an echo from book I, where Aen. *inferret... deos Latio* (1.6): one would expect such reminiscences in a recapitulatory passage. Cf. also Aen.'s words to Dido, 1.378–9 *sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penatis | classe ueho mecum*. Aen. carrying the *penates* to safety by sea prefigures Augustus at Actium (see further 679n.): defeat will be turned into victory.

The *penates* or household gods came to Rome via Lavinium and are much older than the arrival in Latium of the cult of Aeneas *penatiger*: on the 'Trojanisation' of this cult see Galinsky 147–8, Alföldi 27–71.

12 fatis: for this key word see 731n. The rhyme with *penatis* perhaps serves to emphasise the link between the Trojan gods and the Trojan destiny.

14 Dardanio goes with *uiro* in the previous line. Dardanus was the ancestor of the royal house of Troy (134n.), hence the adj. simply = 'Trojan'.

16–17 manifestius ipsi quam... Latino: *ipsi* probably refers to Diomede, who had wounded Aen. at Troy and might have killed him had it not been for Aphrodite's intervention: a Homeric allusion which V. would expect his readers to pick up (*Il.* 5.305ff.). Diomede (the envoys argue) should thus be a better judge of the military threat

offered by Aen. than either Turnus or Latinus (to whom Aen. is an unknown quantity). The words are intended to add a touch of flattery to the argument of military necessity: it must, after all, have been fairly obvious to Turnus and Latinus what Aen. intended. It seems unlikely that *ipsi* could refer to Aen., for this would turn the whole passage into a protracted, and inappropriate, sneer at Aen.'s strategy (we cannot think what he is up to, but presumably he knows).

regi...regi: the formal repetition, and the chiastic symmetry, of 17, diplomatically conclude the proposed speech. Cf. Juno's words about Aen. at 10.66, *bella sequi aut hostem regi se inferre Latino*. There may be an implication that Turnus and Latinus are lawfully titled, whereas Aen. (see 12) only claims to be a king in Italy.

Turno: cf. 1. The reappearance of his name in the last line of this opening paragraph is an example of 'ring composition' or 'returning symmetry', a technique common in ancient literature and its imitators (e.g. Milton, *P.L.* 4.34, 113).

18–101

Aen.'s vision of the river-god Tiberinus, who prophesies his ultimate victory, symbolised by the appearance of a white sow. He sacrifices this animal to Juno, then goes up the river to seek aid from the Greek settler Evander at Pallanteum, on the site of the future Rome. This sequence closely parallels events in VI: prophecy (Sibyl, Tiberinus), ritual portent (golden bough, white sow), 'enchanted voyage' (Styx, Tiber), meeting (Anchises, Evander). Verbal parallels are noted in the Commentary as they occur.

18 Laomedontius heros: Aeneas, 'hero of the race of Laomedon' (father of Priam). The grand periphrasis is not used elsewhere in the poem (*Laomedontiades* is used of Priam at 158, 162) but is perhaps appropriate here both because Aeneas' Trojan ancestry has been in V.'s mind during the prologue, and because Aen. is now re-entering the poem after being off-stage for most of VII. (Cf. 103n.)

19–21 The metaphor of being tossed on a 'sea' of trouble, first found in Aeschylus, *Persae* 599, was by V.'s time a poetical commonplace: cf. Catullus 64.62 *magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, *Aen.* 4.531–2

(Dido) *ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens | saeuit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.*

20–1 = 4.285–6; cf. also 10.680 *haec memorans animo nunc huc nunc fluctuat illuc.*

22–5 The rapid movement of confused thoughts through Aen's. troubled mind is compared to flickering sunlight or moonlight reflected off water in a bronze vessel on to a high gilded ceiling. The simile is based on Apollonius 3.756ff., where it depicts Medea's restlessness in love (cf. 26n.); there the water is freshly poured, hence V.'s *tremulum*. (On Apollonius' special feeling for effects of light see T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic poetry and art* (1964) 70–1, 74–5.) V.'s mention of moonlight (not in Apollonius) enables the simile to act as a 'bridge' to the night-piece which follows (cf. Pöschl 146–7).

These lines are notable for their use of repeated metrical patterns (App. B) including a rare one which occurs at 23, 25 and 26, thus further linking the simile with what follows.

25 laquearia 'gilded panelled ceiling'; also at 1.726.

26 nox erat: formulaic opening of a descriptive set-piece on the '*topos*' of night. V. here combines elements from the traditional theme of the contrast between sleeping nature and wakeful hero (his finest treatment of which is at 4.522ff., where Dido's wakefulness is modelled on Medea's in Apollonius 3.744f.) with the nocturnal visitation or dream-vision in which the hero, though unquiet, sleeps lightly (cf. 2.268ff., 3.147ff., 4.553ff.).

27 alituum...genus: a Lucretian phrase.

28–9 pater...Aeneas: V. is fond of 'enclosing word-order': see T. E. V. Pearce, *C.Q.* N.S. 16 (1966) 140–71, 298–320. Other exx. in this book are at 82–3, 370, 405–6, 526, 678, 704. The device is common in Greek poetry.

29 For this form of symmetry cf. 2n. *turbatus pectora*: accus. 'of respect' after a participle or equivalent adj.: cf. 457n.

30 per membra quietem: cf. Lucretius 4.907. On V. and Lucretius see C. Bailey, *P.C.A.* 28 (1931) 21–39, and W. A. Merrill, 'Parallels and coincidences in Virgil and Lucretius', *Univ. of California*

Publ. in Class. Philol. (1919); but V.'s debt to his great predecessor is not confined to mere verbal reminiscence: see Introd. 3 (iv); 314ff. nn.

31–4 For the river-god cf. Homer's Scamander, *Il.* 21, Spenser's Thames and Medway in *F.Q.* 4.11, Milton's Camus in *Lycidas* 103–6. V.'s description of the god's emergence from his underground waters is balanced by the description of his disappearance at 66.

32 **populeas:** cf. 276n.

senior: Tiberinus, like Evander, whom Aen. will next encounter, is old. Both personify aspects of a long and venerable tradition of religion and civilisation in the region.

33 **uisus:** sc. *erat.*

eum: the pronoun *is* is rare in Latin verse. It occurs in the nominative twelve times in the *Aeneid* (see 321); *eum* occurs six times (again at 576), *ea* (neut. pl.) four times (see 377). See Austin on 4.479 where both *eum* and *eo* occur. On the use of the adjectival *is* see 86n.

glauco...amictu: cf. 66n. and 9.205, where the river Mincius is similarly personified, *uelatus harundine glauca.*

35 This line also occurs at 2.775, 3.153, where it is again associated with a prophetic vision at a time when Aen. is troubled. The infinitives are historic; *Aenean* must be understood with *adfari.*

36–65 For Tiberinus' prophecy see Appendix A.

37–8 **reuehis...exspectate:** Aen. is the long-awaited, just as Augustus in 6.791 is the 'promised oft' (Dryden). Aeneas' coming is also a '*nostos*' or return, hence '*re*uehis': see Introd. 2 (ii) and 134ff., 136nn. Tiberinus' words echo Athene's to Odysseus on his return to Ithaca, *Od.* 13.339:

> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν οὔ ποτ' ἀπίστεον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
> ἤδε', ὃ νοστήσεις...

'I never doubted, I always knew in my heart that you would return.' Cf. also the words of Anchises to Aen. in the Elysian fields, 6.687:

> uenisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
> uicit iter durum pietas?

exspectate: the predicative participle is attracted into the vocative, probably for metrical convenience, as in 2.283, on which Austin has a good note.

aeternaque Pergama seruas: 'you who keep Troy safe for ever' (i.e. as 'new Troy', Rome). For *seruas* see 189n. Cf. Aeneas' prayer to Apollo, 3.85ff., for an 'abiding city' (*mansuram urbem*): *serua altera Troiae Pergama*; cf. also *Georg.* 1.498–9 *Vestaque mater | quae...Romana Palatia seruas*. It is the *penates* (see also 11–12, 39nn.) which symbolise the continuity of the city.

38 **solo Laurenti aruisque Latinis** exemplifies the common 'epexegetic' use of the copulative (*et* or *-que*), in which the second phrase parallels, explains or paraphrases the first (Hofmann–Szantyr 782–3). Cf. the use of *et* as a co-ordinate between two parallel sentences (Introd. 4 (iii); 1–6, 346nn.). The present usage (another example of which is at 374–5) is to be distinguished from hendiadys of the *ferro et arte paterna* type (226n.) in which the two related expressions could be rendered by a single compound formula.

39 **hic tibi certa domus** (sc. *est*): perhaps recalling 6.673, where Aen. is told that the *felices animae* in Elysium have no fixed home (*nulli certa domus*) until their reincarnation as Romans. Aeneas' own 'wandering between two worlds' is now finished, and Tiberinus' words must strike him, and the reader, with solemn force: the *nostos* completed, the covenant fulfilled, the promised land attained. The phrase is echoed again at 65 (n.) and also recalls 7.122 *hic domus, haec patria est*, and the omens of settlement which there follow. For the importance of the *penates* cf. 11–12, 123, 679nn., Bailey 32.

(ne absiste): elision of *ne* occurs in V. only here and at 10.11, another parenthesis (*ne arcessite*): Soubiran 411, and cf. also 503, 557nn.

40–1 'All the wrath and anger of the gods has died away.' The coming war, which Aen. is told not to fear, is the result of Juno's anger at 7.286ff.: this anger, which dominates the entire poem (see 1.11 *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?*), does not actually subside until book XII. Tiberinus goes on to tell Aen. (60–1) to overcome Juno's anger and threats with prayers. Thus although his statement here is not literally true, as Servius pointed out, it may be regarded 'as a

rhetorical exaggeration...prophetic rather than actual in meaning' (Williams).

tumor occurs only here in V.; the verb (*tumentem*), itself rare, occurs at 86: for this echo see Putnam 112.

In any case, we cannot expect to reach a wholly satisfactory interpretation of this passage because of the presence in it of one of the poem's fifty-nine incomplete lines (on which see Introd. 4 (iii)). While all these hemistichs, except 3.340, make complete grammatical sense as they stand, they form the clearest possible evidence of the poem's unrevised state. Attempts to complete the hemistichs were made by ancient editors with little success (Donatus, *Vita* 41). Servius records such an attempt for the present line, *profugis noua moenia Teucris*. See next n.

42–9 These lines were condemned as spurious by Ribbeck. Most edd. bracket 46. 43–6 are repeated from 3.390–3, the prophecy of Helenus, of which Tiberinus now announces the fulfilment. It seems probable that V. had not decided how much repetition he wanted here, and used *tibicines* (temporary props): see further Introd. 4 (iii).

43–4 The portent is described in two appropriately portentous lines: notice the repeated *i* and *u* sounds, the assonance *ingens–inuenta*, and the monosyllabic ending, giving a marked conflict of metrical ictus with word accent in the last two feet. V. uses this special effect only 39 times: cf. 679n. This particular rhyme-ending (*-bus...-sus*) was something of a cliché: cf. Hellegouarc'h 64, Hofmann–Szantyr 707.

43 **litoreis** is not found before V.

ingens: one of V.'s favourite words, occurring 168 times in the *Aen.* and 14 times in this book. It usually conveys not merely great size (so that we feel the word to be proper to a heroic poem) but also portentousness, strangeness, as in 447, where it is applied to Aen.'s shield. Here, it carries a further sense of 'pregnant' (cf. *grauis* = *grauidus*). It is used of Aen. himself at 367 (n.) to emphasise his Herculean stature, in contrast with his environment. When applied to a place, e.g. Cacus' cave (241, 258) or a sacred grove (342, 597) it not only carries the connotation of awe, but implies also a quality proper to that locality (cf. *indiges*) so that we feel 'this is what it has always been like, and ought to be like'. It is this contrast between two semantic fields, 'strange' or 'unborn', and 'inherent' or 'inborn', which makes

the word so effective (as Conway pointed out in his n. on 1.114). Henry also has a famous (and characteristic) note on the word (at 5.118): he calls it 'our author's maid of all work, cook, slut and butler at once', but this fanciful account too cosily domesticates the word and strips it of its ambiguous power.

44 **iacebit** goes with *tibi* in 42 (dative of advantage): 'you shall see lying there a huge sow which has just given birth to a litter of thirty piglets'. *capita* is used for 'animals' by a common figure (synecdoche), but a further word-play may be involved since the thirty piglets probably had a political significance (for the number-symbolism see App. A); a similar word-play may be present in the use of *caput*, with *celsis urbibus*, in 65 (n.).

45 **circum ubera:** cf. *ubera circum*, of the she-wolf, at 631: for parallels between the two animals see 82–3n.

47 **ex quo** (sc. *prodigio*) 'from which (portent) you are to understand that...'. Cf. Varro's *ex hoc prodigio* cited in App. A.

redeuntibus annis: the formula occurs in Lucretius 1.311.

49 **haud** goes with *incerta* (= *certissima*, the figure called litotes): cf. 299, 370, 627. *cano* 'I foretell', a normal meaning: cf. 534.

49–50 **nunc qua ratione quod instat...paucis (aduerte) docebo:** also at 4.115–16; variants are are 6.759, 11.315, where the formula is a straightforward epexegesis, *expediam...et docebo*. In the present passage, *expedias* has the effect of throwing the task and burden of fulfilling the prophecy on to Aeneas. *uictor* is predicative and emphatic, as also in 61, 203, 362: it is a key-word in book VIII.

51–4 For the Arcadian settlers on the site of Rome, and their king Evander, see Introd. 3 (ii). The mother-city of Pallanteum in Arcadia was named after Pallas, son of Lycaon, Evander's grandfather. Evander's son is also called Pallas and the new settlement on the Palatine was supposedly named after him (cf. Livy 1.5). The 'etymology' involves a characteristic word-play which defies quantity, since the first syllable of Palatium is short. For other examples of word-play see Index, and cf. 441n.

54 This is one of the four lines in book VIII which end with a quadrisyllabic word yielding a spondee in the fifth foot: the others

are 167, 341, 345. Two other lines in this book (402, 679) have a spondee in the fifth foot though not a quadrisyllabic ending. Hexameters of this type, while not uncommon in Homer, became a mannerism of the Alexandrians and a hall-mark of the Roman 'neoteric' style: there are 30 examples in Catullus 64, a poem of 408 lines. In contrast Virgil uses the pattern sparingly: in over 12,000 hexameters he has only 33 'σπονδειάζοντες'. See further Fordyce on Catullus 64.3.

55 This statement appears to conflict with others in the poem (e.g. 7.46) which imply that the Latins have been long at peace (Camps 134–5). Such formal inconsistencies in VII and VIII perhaps reflect the tension between the 'hard' and primitive 'native' Italians and the civilised and peace-loving Trojan immigrants. In terms of the poem's narrative this tension is resolved in XII in the treaty between Trojans and Latins; in another sense, however, it is never entirely resolved and remains an ambivalent element in the Roman character to which V. in particular was profoundly sensitive. The dual element in the Roman ancestry is a central theme of the *Aeneid*. See further 315n.

56 It is Aeneas' wholly Roman task to find allies and make treaties. Cf. 7.264, where *iungi* and *socios* occur in relation to Latinus, and see also 316–17, 540nn.

57 'I shall lead you straight upstream between my banks.' As Page reminds us, the speaker has not yet introduced himself as Tiberinus. The prophecy in this and the following verse is fulfilled at 86ff. *recto* must be taken both with *ripis* and *flumine* (the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction).

58 **superes** is echoed, not only in the fulfilment of the prophecy (95) but immediately below (61). To become 'uictor' Aeneas must overcome both an adverse current and an adverse deity; Tiberinus prophesies that he will do both. Just as the river's current is stayed at 86–9, so, ultimately, is Juno's wrath: cf. 40–1n.

60–1 Aeneas' propitiatory sacrifice to Juno is carried out at 84–5 and fulfils the commands both of Tiberinus and of Helenus at 3.435–9: *unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum | praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo, | Iunonis magnae primum prece numen*

adora, | Iunoni cane uota libens dominamque potentem | supplicibus supera donis. At 3.545–7 Aeneas duly honours Juno in Calabria. Cf. also 12.178, where at the moment before final victory Aen. calls in solemn witness, first Terra, then Sol, then Jupiter, then Juno: *iam melior, iam, diua, precor.* His prayer is answered: Juno ultimately becomes one of the 'Capitoline triad' of deities who protected Rome: see 731n.

62 **persolues**: this placing of a major sense-break at the 2nd-foot caesura constitutes a favourite Virgilian structure: see Introd. 4 (iii). The use of the future tense and the emphatic *mihi* contrast the immediate honours to be paid by Aen. to Juno with those he is to pay Tiberinus when victorious (*uictor* is predicative as in 50).

63 The chiastic symmetry of this line is closely paralleled by 712, which describes the Nile, anti-type of the Tiber. Both lines are, as it happens, followed by a form of the same word (*caeruleus, caeruleum*).

stringentem 'grazing', i.e. 'eroding' (as in 5.163). Servius gives some other names of the Tiber: Rumon (*quasi ripas ruminans et exedens*, cf. 90n.), Serra, Terentum: all are examples of the same kind of 'etymological' word-play.

64 **caeruleus...caelo**: cf. the Ennian formula *caeli caerula templa*, *Ann.* 50, 65 V². The adjective is conventionally used of sea and sky, and also of deities associated with water; whatever colour(s) it may have conveyed (dark blue, dark green?) must here be subordinate to the word-play. The Tiber was less poetically and more accurately described as yellow (*Tiberinus...multa flauus harena*, 7.30–1).

In this and the following line, V. perhaps echoes Ennius, *Ann.* 67 V² *fluuius qui est omnibus princeps* (cf. 72n.). The Tiber is the greatest and most sacred of rivers, as befits the river of Rome.

Thybris: the poetic Greek name for the river, first found in V. and normal in Latin poetry from Ovid onwards.

65 'Here is my mighty house, the well-spring (water-supply) for lofty cities here goes forth.' The statement (two parallel sentences in asyndeton, the second amplifying the first) echoes *hic tibi certa domus* at 39 (see n.: the Palatine MS reads *certa* for *magna* here). There may be a reference to the *Tiberina atria*, the river's final bend before it turns westward to the sea near Ostia, the site of Aen.'s first camp:

Ovid, *Fasti* 4.329–30 *fluminis ad flexum ueniunt, Tiberina priores | atria dixerunt, unde sinister abit.*

caput would then refer, not to the source of the river, but to the underground system of reservoirs supposed to be the god's home, the *lacus* of 66. Cf. *Georg.* 4.360ff. *umida regna | speluncisque lacus clausos ... | et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus* (Fowler 37–42 discusses the passage in an interesting n.). Cf. Lucretius 5.270 *caput amnibus*, where the dat. corresponds to *urbibus* here, which must be taken closely with *caput*, not with *exit*. Tiberinus supplies the mighty cities of Etruria, but there is also the prophetic hint that he will one day supply a mightier city, Rome, since *caput* can also mean 'capital' (cf. 44n.): for its use in this sense with a dat. see Livy 8.4.5. *caput* occurs in a metaphorical sense to describe Rome in *Ecl.* 1.24 *alias inter caput extulit urbes.*

caput may also refer to the personified river-god himself. Cf. Milton, *Comus* 933–4 (on the river-goddess Sabrina) *May thy lofty head be crowned | With many a tower and terrace round.*

66 deinde: disyllabic by synizesis, the normal prosody. V. usually prefers not to place this word at the beginning of a sentence: see 481n.

fluuius se condidit alto: cf. 12.886 (of Juturna) *se fluvio dea condidit alto*. Here it must be supposed that the river-god dived beneath the surface of his waters into his underground reservoir (cf. 31–4, 65nn.).

67 For the sense-break at the second-foot caesura cf. 62n.

68–70 After his troubled night Aen. is now calm and confident: a mood of hopeful expectation, which from now on dominates book VIII (cf. Heinze 452), is established in these formal, smoothly-flowing lines, each of which conforms to the traditional symmetrical type discussed at 2n., in which the adj. at the third-foot caesura agrees with the noun at the end of the line. The lines are further linked by the repeated *us*, most obvious in the assonance *lumina ... flumine* (the river is associated with light and hope), by lack of elision and a marked correspondence between ictus and accent, extended in 70 even to the fourth foot where V. normally has conflict (Allen 338). The effect is to convey a sense of resolved and unimpeded action. There is a strong contrast with the simile at 22–5, before the river-god's appearance: then, Aen. was at the mercy of the 'waves' of anxiety, confused

and uncertain; now, in the dawn, he holds the waters in his hand, the river (nature) must submit to the hero (civilisation).

71–8 The structure of this eight-line prayer is formal: a two-line *inuocatio* is followed by a one-line request with double verb (*accipite*... *arcete*); then comes a four-line second *inuocatio* and pledge, followed by a second and concluding one-line request, again with double verb (*adsis*...*firmes*).

The Homeric model is *Od.* 13.356–60, where Odysseus prays to the nymphs on his return to Ithaca: for another echo of this passage see 37–8n.

71 unde est: Virgil has about 40 lines ending in *est* preceded by an elided word; where the latter is a disyllable, as here or at 9.247 (*Troia est*), the effect is equivalent to that produced by two monosyllables (cf. 400n.): such endings are metrically normal, the two monosyllables forming what is virtually a spondaic disyllable.

72 Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 54 V[2] *teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto.*

73 periclis for *periculis.* Norden, in his n. on 6.83, points out that this form, commonly called syncope, is more properly to be regarded as the restoration of the original morphology for metrical convenience.

74–5 These lines must be referred back to 65–6 (n.) but they also represent a common formula whereby, in addressing a deity, the Greeks and Romans covered all possible contingencies by being as all-embracing as possible as to name, location, etc.

76 semper...semper: the anaphora emphasises the solemnity of the prayer. For other exx. of this figure, see 91–2, 161, 659, 699, 718. For the vow of perpetual service cf. *Ecl.* 5.78 *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt*, a passage repeated by Aen. to Dido, 1.607ff.

77 A grandly constructed formal line, whose symmetry does not rest only on the common correspondence *Hesperidum*...*aquarum* (discussed at 2n.) but on the fact that every word in it is either a noun or an adjective in the nominative or genitive. *corniger*...*fluuius regnator* is in asyndeton, since *regnator*, though a noun, functions verbally as though it were a participle: 'horned river that rulest over the waters...'. Asyndeton was common in archaic Latin and V. seems here to be

echoing or imitating an archaic formula. The line balances the equally formal 64.

corniger: rivers were depicted as horned: cf. 727, *Georg.* 4.371–2 *et gemina auratus taurino cornua uultu | Eridanus.*

78 **adsis o tantum:** the interjection, placed second, heightens the emotional effect (cf. 4.578 *adsis o placidusque iuues*) and also serves to link the verb closely with the adverb *tantum*, 'only' (cf. 4.657, 6.74, 9.430).

et propius tua numina firmes repeats and amplifies the idea already stated in the first half of the line: 'theme and variation'. *propius* occurs in the same sense, and the same position in the line, at 1.526.

numina: a complex and important word (like *fata*, see 731n.) discussed by Bailey 60–9. V. uses it about 60 times (in this book also at 186, 382, 512, 574). It is sometimes best translated as 'godhead' (often in the sense of divine presence), sometimes it means rather the manifestation of godhead in the form of divine power or authority. It probably derives from **nuo*, *nutus*, the nod with which Jupiter expressed his will (cf. 10.115 *adnuit et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum*).

firmes 'confirm', 'prove', as at 12.188 *di numine firment*, 2.691 *haec omina firma.*

The appearance of the omen of the sow provides an immediate answer to Aen.'s prayer.

79 **memorat** 'speaks': intransitive, cf. 532. In 339 it is transitive.

81 This line closely resembles 2.680 *cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum.* The *monstrum* (portent) on that occasion was the fire round Iulus' head at the fall of Troy. The portent of the sow is also associated with Iulus (Ascanius), symbolising his future foundation of Alba Longa (App. A) to which Rome's 'Trojan' families, including the *gens Iulia*, traced their origin.

82–3 **candida . . . sus:** for the enclosing word-order see 28–9n. The sow with her young (*fetu*) in the green woods by the sea-shore is in analogy with the she-wolf shown on Aen.'s shield, who has also just given birth (*fetam*) and lies with Romulus and Remus in a green cave

(*uiridi...in antro*) beside the Tiber: see 45, 630nn. Both animals represent foundation-myths.

For the metrical effect of 83 see 43–4n.

84–5 Aen. carries out the sacrifice (see 60–1n.). V. emphasises the religious importance of this propitiatory sacrifice to Juno, undertaken immediately before the journey to the site of the future Rome. The use of the vocative 'in apostrophe' is here a convenient metrical device but it also usually carries a strong emotional effect: cf. 5.840 *te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans*, and 6.18 *redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacrauit.*

tibi enim, tibi: the repeated pronoun is characteristic of the language of prayer (cf. 293–305n., and 9.404 *tu, dea, tu praesens*); for the 'asseverative' use of *enim* (= Gk δή) common in Plautus cf. 10.874 *Aeneas agnouit enim*, Austin on 2.100 *nec requieuit enim*, Norden on 6.28 *magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem*, Cordier 84.

85 mactat...et sistit: a construction of the type commonly, but misleadingly, described as *hysteron proteron* (the cart before the horse). Such constructions frequently describe two simultaneous actions, so that it does not matter which way round the phrases are put (see 346n.), but even if the actions are not simultaneous they must still be taken together to form a single idea, the more important element being placed first with an explanatory clause appended by parataxis instead of subordination: see Austin's note on 2.353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus.*

aram: rituals at altars (and temples) play a conspicuous part in book VIII. Not only Aen. (here and with Evander at 542–3) but Evander (at the Ara Maxima), Romulus, Manlius and Augustus, are shown in formal religious postures symbolising alliances, prayers for *auxilium* or acts of thanksgiving.

86–96 Cf. 7.25–36 (Introd. 2 (iv)).

86–9 The Tiber, after being in spate all night, subsides and becomes stationary (for *refluens* cf. *refluit* at 240) in accordance with Tiberinus' promise (40–1, 57). The Homeric model is *Od.* 5.451, where the river is similarly 'stayed' for Odysseus when he lands on the coast of the Phaeacians, but the idea of the river yielding to the hero on a civilising mission is a very Roman one: cf. 726n. There may be an

analogy with the safe conduct of Romulus and Remus (correspondences between V. and Livy 1.4.4–6 are pointed out by Binder 35). Camps 139 suggested that V. might be alluding to an actual flooding of the Tiber which occurred on the night of 16–17 Jan. 27 B.C., just after Octavian had received the title of Augustus and the oak-leaves and shield (cf. 188–9n.). This phenomenon was regarded as symbolising the spread of Roman power far beyond its previous confines (*imperium sine fine*?): see Dio 52.20, Nisbet and Hubbard 19–21 (on Horace, *C.* 1.2.13ff.). The calming of the river after its spate corresponds to the calming of Aen.'s mind after a troubled night (19–21, 22–5, 68–70nn.).

86 ea: forms of the adj. *is* are rare in V., as are the pronominal forms (33n.). The fem. sing. abl. occurs again in the *Aeneid* only at 12.420. *eo* occurs at 705.

quam longa 'in all its length': cf. 4.193 *nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fouere.*

tumentem: cf. 40–1n. (*tumor*).

88 in morem 'in the manner of', 'like'; this quasi-prepositional usage with a genitive (cf. *more*, 10.604) is to be distinguished from the adverbial usages at 186, 282.

-que is disjunctive (= *-ue*): 'or', not 'and'. Cf. 627, Austin on 2.37, and, for a full discussion of the usage, Fordyce on Catullus 45.6ff. For *stagnum* and *palus* cf. the description of the Styx, 6.323.

88–9 There is a marked alliterative pattern: *m*...*m*...*st*...*p*... *p*...*st*...*q*...*q*.

89 sterneret aequor aquis: '(in such a way as to) spread out a smooth surface for (or on) his waters'. *sternitur aequor aquis* occurs at 5.821.

luctamen 'resistance'. This word has not been found to occur elsewhere in classical Latin. V. also has *libamen* (once), *gestamen* (twice) and *solamen* (three times); again, no earlier usage is attested for these words, though they occur occasionally in Ovid and later poets.

90–1 V. uses formulaic phrasing to describe the start of this momentous journey. *ergo iter inceptum* is repeated from 6.384, where it

describes the journey of Aen. and the Sibyl to the rivers of the underworld, *per tacitum nemus* (for other parallels between the two voyages see 107–10, 112–14nn.). *rumore secundo* is Ennian and occurs also in Horace, *Ep.* 1.10.9: it means 'with favourable noise', i.e. 'with approving cries' (from the crew); *rumor* = *clamor*, cf. 10. 266 *clamore secundo*; elsewhere in the *Aen.* (where it occurs in all only six times) it bears its more usual sense of '*fama*'.

labitur uncta...abies: cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 386 V² *labitur uncta carina.*

91–2 mirantur...miratur 'the very (*et*) waves marvel, and the woods too, not being used to...' (*insuetum* is predicative). The anaphora (repetition of the initial word of a phrase) serves both for emphasis and as a connective device (cf. 161). V. emphasises the marvellousness of this voyage, which resembles that to the underworld or the voyage of Jason: cf. Apollonius 1.544–52 and Catullus 64.1–15, where the sea-nymphs wonder at the Argonauts (*admirantes*). The present passage, with its brilliant use of the 'pathetic fallacy' (cf. 236–40) owes something to the Alexandrian descriptive style (see Williams, *TORP* 654–5) but the atmosphere of pastoral tranquillity is peculiarly Virgilian: cf. 7.25–36.

93 What the woods and waves wonder at are 'the gleaming shields of the heroes and their painted ships swimming on the water'. For this vividly visual description cf. 592–3nn. The line is also a good example of V.'s exploitation of the ambivalent possibilities of Latin word-order: *fluuio* is to be taken both with *fulgentia longe* (the shields 'burn on the water', as in the famous description of Cleopatra's barge in Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* 2.2.192) and with *innare* (which gives a balance between *fulgentia scuta* and *pictas carinas*).

innare more commonly takes an accus. as at 651; it occurs again with abl. at 691.

94 Again V. draws on traditional forms and phrases. *olli* is the old form of *illi* (dat. sing. or, as here and at 594, nom. pl.); so *ollis* for *illis* at 659; its use is a deliberate archaism, especially in the Ennian formula *olli respondit*, 12.18.

noctemque diemque: the double *-que* is a 'mannerism of high epic style' (Austin on 4.83) first found in Ennius, who was imitating Homer's use of the double τε. It is particularly used to link pairs of

related words: cf. 11.192 *it caelo clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum*; Hofmann–Szantyr 476.

For the night journey cf. Aen.'s voyage from Cumae to the Tiber at the beginning of book VII. The Homeric model is Telemachus' voyage to Pylos, *Od.* 2.434 (Introd. 2 (i)). For the present journey V. seems to have allowed about 30 hours (cf. App. A).

95 **superant:** see 58n.

96 'They make way on the smooth surface between green trees.' For *secant* Henry compares *secantem* at 63.

placido aequore: elision before the fifth foot is rare: cf. 4.420, 6.622, Soubiran 536–7.

97 A variant of *Georg.* 4.426 *ardebat caelo et medium sol igneus orbem | hauserat*. The marking of time is a common device for breaking up long sequences of epic narrative from Homer on, but is specially important in this book of the *Aeneid* and on this particular day, other points of which are marked at 280, 369. The Trojans arrive at Rome at high noon when the sun is at its zenith. (On the symbolic value of Virgil's time-formulas, first noted by Servius, see Pöschl 139ff.)

98 **procul:** the second syllable is long, although a vowel follows. In some cases where this licence occurs, V. is in fact restoring the syllable to its original length (see 363n.); many more, including the present instance, and *caput* in 10.394, cannot be so explained but are perhaps an imitation of a poetic usage found in Homer and the Alexandrians.

99–100 **nunc...tum:** for the contrast between past simplicity and present (Augustan) splendour cf. 347–8, 360–1. The formula also occurs in the aetiological elegies of Propertius, e.g. 4.1.1ff., 4.4.11ff., but V.'s attitude is more ambivalent: cf. Introd. 3 (ii, iii). The clash between 'epic time' and 'real time' is striking: the poet speaks *in propria persona*.

Romana potentia caelo aequauit: cf. 4.89 *aequataque machina caelo*, on Carthage, anti-type of Rome (cf. 309n.), and 6.781–2, where Anchises prophesies Rome's future greatness: *illa incluta Roma... animos aequabit Olympo*. Such hyperboles are characteristic of descriptions in praise of cities and buildings, a standard topic of epideictic literature: cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (1957) 225 n.3 (on *C.* 3.29.10).

100 For Evander's poverty see also 105, 364–5, Introd. 3 (ii).

101 A rounding-off line (the figure known as epiphonema): cf. 65, 125, 305, 369.

102–189

The arrival at Pallanteum, where the annual rites in honour of Hercules are being celebrated by king Evander at the Ara Maxima. The opening lines of this passage have their Homeric counterpart in Telemachus' arrival at Pylos, *Od.* 3.1ff., where he finds Nestor sacrificing and is greeted by his son Peisistratus as Aen. is greeted by Evander's son Pallas. The allusion to, and transformation of, Homeric motives (the quest, the *nostos*) is characteristically Virgilian (see Introd. 2 (i)).

102 **Forte die...illo:** it is central to the typological structure of VIII that Aen. should 'happen' to arrive at the gates of Rome on this particular day, 12 August: Introd. 2 (ii, iii).

Arcas: adj. = 'Arcadian' (sc. Evander).

103 **Amphitryonidae:** dat. sing. = Hercules, the putative son of Amphitryon (his mother was Amphitryon's wife Alcmena, his father Zeus). For this use of a grand patronymic cf. 18n.: but V. was metrically obliged to use some kind of periphrasis.

104 **Pallas:** Evander's son (54n.); his death at the hand of Turnus (10.457–509) is avenged by Aen. at the end of the poem.

106 **tepidus:** cf. 196, *tepebat*: the verbal echo helps to contrast Evander's 'good' bloodshed (sacrifice) with Cacus' 'bad' bloodshed (slaughter of stolen animals).

107–10 **uidere** ('they saw') takes first a direct accus., then two parallel clauses (accus. and infinitive construction) which repeat and amplify the main idea: 'theme and two variations' (Henry). Cf. the arrival at the Styx in 6.385ff. (*per tacitum nemus ire...*); for other correspondences between the two episodes see 90–1, 112–14nn. The present passage is not only intensely dramatic – the pervading silence and shadow, *opacum...adlabi...tacitos* (no wonder the Arcadians are terrified by this unheralded apparition) – but also profoundly visual. The scene forms the subject of a famous landscape by Claude: see

A. G. Mackay, 'Virgilian landscape into art', in *Virgil*, ed. D. R. Dudley (1969) 151–2 (with reproduction) where it is suggested that Claude emphasised the allusion to VI.

109–11 cuncti 'in a body', 'as one man'. This mass fear is contrasted with the courage of Pallas in rushing forward on his own, ready to fight the unknown intruders (*audax...obuius ipse*). There is a tragic irony here, as at 514ff. (see n.), for Pallas is in fact taking the first step towards his own death (cf. also 578, 589–91). He shows a similar courage at 10.362ff., when he chides the Arcadians for their fear.

112–14 Pallas' greeting to Aen. resembles Charon's at 6.388: *quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis, | fare age quid uenias...* The parallel is further emphasised by the fact that Charon goes on to say that the arrival of living heroes at the Styx has never pleased him, 'not even Hercules' (*nec uero Alcides...*). Aen. is now following in Hercules' footsteps on another journey, *ignotas temptare uias*. It is indeed Hercules' heroism on the very spot where Aen. now prepares to disembark, which Evander is celebrating. For the parallel between this episode and VI see also 18–101, 90–1nn.

115 puppi...ab alta: a prefiguration of Augustus at Actium, 680–1.

116 Aen. holds out (*praetendit*, cf. 128) an olive-branch, symbol of peace and sacred to Pallas Athene. Cf. 7.154, where Aen. sends envoys to Latinus *ramis uelatos Palladis...pacemque exposcere.*

paciferae: this compound adjective is not found before Virgil.

117 Troiugenas: formally matched by *Graiugenum* at 127.

118 quos refers to the Trojans, *illi* to the Latins: 'exiles, whom they have pursued with arrogant hostility', a reference to the war now being prepared (see 1–17). *profugos* recalls the poem's opening lines in which Aen. is described as *fato profugus*. *egere* occurs again with *fatis* at 133, see n.

119 haec: as in the formulas *haec ait*, *haec ubi dicta*, etc.

123 hospes is a predicative nom., not a vocative.

125 The Trojans approach the sacred grove, leaving the river which has dominated the first part of book VIII. For the topography see Introd. 3 (iii). The formal line is an epiphonema, cf. 101n.

126–51 In his formal disembarkation speech Aen. diplomatically traces a common descent for the Arcadians and Trojans before seeking alliance. See Introd. 2 (ii). In *Il.* 20.200ff. Homer's Aen. proclaims his lineage to Achilles, pointing out that Dardanus' father was Zeus himself, a point made to Latinus by Ilioneus at *Aen.* 7.219ff. For other echoes of Ilioneus' speech see 131–3, 134ff., 143–5nn.

127 Graiugenum: formally balancing *Troiugenas* in 117. This is an old form of the 1st declension gen. pl. (= *Graiugenarum*) revived by V. from Ennius.

128 uitta comptos: the olive-branch was decked with wool.

129–30 'I was not afraid even though you were a Greek leader, an Arcadian, kin by birth to the twin sons of Atreus.' *fores* = *esses*: the form does not occur elsewhere in V., though *foret* and *forent* are found occasionally. *quod* here has the force of *quamuis*, 'although (it was a fact that)': cf. 377–80. *non...extimui Danaum* is possibly a contradictory echo of 2.49 *timeo Danaos*. The time to fear the Greeks has ended with Troy; the Roman revival of the Aeneas legend emphasised its Greek element (now satisfactorily subordinated to Trojan–Roman superiority): see Galinsky 161. *extimui* (from *extimescere*): nowhere else in V.

ductor: the word (like *dux*, see 503) had a special Augustan ring: see Syme 291ff. It is formally applied to Aen. by Evander at 470, 496, 513.

131–3 sed is emphatic and must be taken with *uolentem*: on the contrary, says Aen., so far from being afraid, it was in willing obedience to my destiny that I came here, although several other factors actually drove me (*egere*). Ilioneus says something similar to Latinus at 7.239–40: *sed nos fata deum uestras exquirere terras | imperiis egere suis.*

131 mea me uirtus: cf. Aen.'s self-proclaiming words at 1.378–9, cited at 11n. *tua me uirtus* occurs in Lucretius, 1.40: V.'s adaptation of the phrase presents a hero wholly enclosed in his own *uirtus*, in the style of his Homeric counterparts, e.g. Odysseus in *Od.* 9.19.

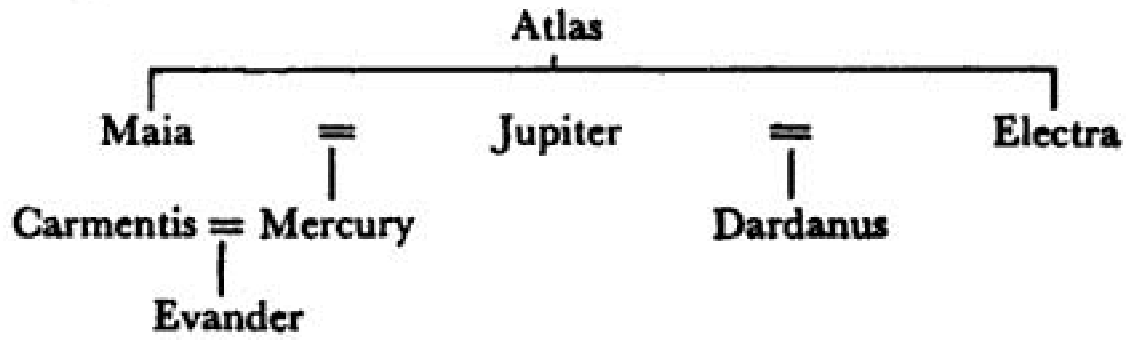
sancta oracula diuum: for the elision of *ā* at this place in the hexameter cf. 581, 664, Soubiran 288.

132 terris: a disyllabic spondaic word forming the fourth foot is

normally avoided by V. and when it occurs often has a solemn, emphatic effect: cf. 362 and the very grand line 1.295 *saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aenis*. In the present line the word-order is controlled by the correspondence *mea*. . .*tua* which operates as a kind of connective anaphora: cf. 90–1n.

dldita: an archaism often found in Lucretius, used again by V. only at 7.144 *diditur*. . .*rumor*.

134ff The relationship here set forth between Evander and Dardanus, ancestor of the Trojan royal house, may be shown by the following table:



V. uses the tradition which places Dardanus' birthplace in Italy, at Corythus, eponymously named for the Italian king Corythus who was Electra's husband when she bore Dardanus to Jupiter (Servius on 7.207). Cf. the exchange between Ilioneus and Latinus in the parallel embassy at 7.195ff., where Latinus says that Dardanus was *his ortus*. . .*agris* and *Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum*, a phrase echoed shortly after in relation to Aen., *hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum*. Thus Aen. is Dardanus come home again: for the significance of the dynastic argument see further Introd. 2 (ii), and 511–13n. (Evander takes up Aen.'s argument.) For another tradition, that Dardanus was an Arcadian, cf. 165n.

135 ut Grai perhibent: formulas of this type illustrate not so much the poet's own 'diffidentia' as his awareness that he is relying on a literary tradition: see further Norden on 6.14.

136–7 Cf. the last line of VIII, where Aen. takes on his shoulders the round shield: for *orbis* = 'shield' see also 447–9; here it means 'universe': see Introd. 2 (iii) for the analogy between Aen., Hercules and Augustus as 'shoulderers of world-burdens'. Atlas here carries an entire genealogical and typological tradition: his importance is

emphasised by the repetitions of his name at 140, 141. He symbolises endurance, the harsh necessities of destiny: see Pöschl 145 (on *Aen.* 4.247–51, the most famous description of Atlas in the poem), Introd. 2 (iii).

143–5 A contrast is clearly intended here with the embassy of Ilioneus to Latinus in book VII. Relying on the blood-relationship between Arcadians and Trojans, Aeneas has come in person to Evander, he has not sent an envoy: *me, me ipse*... carries a strong emotive appeal, for Aeneas has come as *supplex*, just as he came as *supplex* to the Sibyl (6.115) and just as the Sibyl prophesied he would one day come as *supplex* in Italy to cities yet unknown (6.91): ...*tu supplex in rebus egenis | quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraueris urbes!* V. uses *supplex* rarely in the *Aeneid.* It does not occur at all in book VII, where Aeneas left things to his representative, never doubting that all would be well. Now he is *in rebus egenis* (cf. 365). The other suppliant in book VIII is Venus when she begs aid for Aeneas from Vulcan (see 382) in what is clearly in some respects a parallel episode.

146 gens...Daunia: the Rutuli, Daunus being Turnus' father. Aeneas appeals for aid against a common foe, as explained in the next lines.

147–9 'They believe that, if they defeat us, nothing can stop them from completely (*penitus*: cf. *Ecl.* 1.66) subjugating the whole of Italy, and obtaining control of both the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian seas.'

150–1 His supplication over, Aeneas asks for help and pledges his Trojans to Evander. The formal conclusion, with its echo of Ennius, consists of two lines of the same metrical pattern (see App. B).

accipe daque fidem: Ennius, *Ann.* 32 V^2 *accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmam.*

rebus spectata 'tested by events'; cf. *Georg.* 1.197 *multo spectata labore.* Though young in years, the Trojans are toughened by experience. Cf. 1.198 *neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum.*

153 lustrabat: the tense is important. Evander had been watching Aeneas all the time he was speaking. *lustrare* originally had a religious meaning, to purify, to go round an area on foot. There is a good note on the word by Warde Fowler, *The death of Turnus* 96–8. *oculos* ..

lumine: the two words occur together also at 4.363–4 where Dido similarly watches Aeneas while he is speaking. Henry in his note on that passage distinguishes *oculus* = the eye-ball, the organ itself, from *lumen* = the sense of sight, vision.

154ff Evander begins his reply, in which he promises aid, with a heroic reminiscence in the Homeric style. Cf. the words of Antenor to Helen, *Il.* 3.204ff.: 'For once godlike Odysseus came here with Menelaus dear to Ares, on a mission concerning you. I entertained them and treated them as guests...When they were with the Trojans in assembly, standing, Menelaus towered above with his broad shoulders, but sitting, Odysseus was the more majestic figure.' (Cf. also Apollonius 2.773ff.)

155 accipio agnoscoque: formulaic phrase, used again at 12.260.

157–9 'For I remember when Priam son of Laomedon, going to Salamis on a visit to the kingdom of his sister Hesione, came straight on to visit the cool confines of Arcadia.' For the construction after *memini*, cf. the reminiscences in Dido's speech to Aen., 1.619–20 (the whole speech offers structural parallels with the present passage): *atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona uenire | finibus expulsum patriis, noua regna petentem.*

gelidos: because Arcadia is mountainous (cf. 341n.).

uisentem...petentem: the parallel participial clauses are arranged chiastically in asyndeton.

Evander's reminiscence takes us back to the time before the Trojan war. The Greek legends about Hesione would have been familiar in V.'s time, as they still were in Servius' (*quis enim nescit?* he asks in his note on this passage). During Laomedon's reign the Trojans were troubled by a sea-monster, sent, it was said, by Apollo and Poseidon because Laomedon had refused to pay them for building the walls of Troy. An oracle, consulted on Laomedon's behalf by Phoenodamas, said that the king must sacrifice his daughter Hesione. She was rescued, however, by Hercules, who killed the monster (see schol. on *Il.* 20.145), and, when Laomedon (who seems to have made a habit of not paying bills) refused his promised reward, sacked Troy (cf. 291) and killed the king. (There is some evidence (e.g. Hor. *C.* 3.3.21ff.) that Troy was felt by the Romans to have deserved its destruction not

only by Hercules on this occasion but also by the Greeks, with Neptune's help (see *Aen.* 2.610), though perhaps only because its destruction was the necessary precondition of Rome's arising.) Thus V. brings Hercules, by covert allusion, into the mythology of VIII which he is shortly to dominate. The miraculously-rescued Hesione subsequently married Telamon, king of Salamis, to whom she bore Ajax and Teucer (the latter is the Teucer mentioned by Dido in her reminiscences, cited above). Before his death, Laomedon had taken revenge upon Phoenodamas by selling his daughters into slavery; they survived, however, and landed safely in Sicily, there to become part of the complex legends of the Trojan diaspora. See further Perret 267–85.

160 uestibat: old form of *uestiebat*, which will not scan in a hexameter. So *polibant*, 436.

161 mirabar...mirabar: for the anaphora cf. 91–2n.

164 dextrae...dextram: the word is picked up again at 169: see n.

165 Phenei: Pheneus was a town in Arcadia, the birthplace, according to one tradition, of Dardanus (see Servius on 3.167). V. alludes to various links between Greeks and Trojans. This town was famous also for its underground channels, supposed to be the work of Hercules, who is thus again silently alluded to: cf. Fordyce on Catullus 68.108.

167 intertextam: for the metre see 54n.

168 aurea belongs with *frena* outside the relative clause but has been taken inside it: an unusually bold instance of the figure called hyperbaton, which the Alexandrians indulged in freely but of which V. is sparing: see Fordyce on Catullus 66.18, Williams on *Aen.* 3.304–5; Wilkinson, *GLA* 213–14, Hofmann–Szantyr 689–94.

meus...Pallas: V. emphasises Evander's love for, and pride in, his son; the passage involves two of the closest bonds known to the Romans, those between father and son and between host and guest. See Fowler 89–91 (commenting on 520–1, see n.).

169ff 'And so (because of my former friendship with your father) the right hand of friendship which you seek is already given.' *tibi* must

be understood with *iuncta*; *mihi* is dat. of agent. The *dextra* and the *mensa*, the friendship and hospitality now offered by Evander, are recalled poignantly when Pallas is killed, 10.515–17 *Pallas, Euander, in ipsis | omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas aduena primas | tunc adiit, dextraeque datae.*

171 Earlier but ineffective offers of help were made to Aen. by Latinus, 7.261ff., and Dido, 1.571, who uses words almost identical with those in the present line, *auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuuabo*. For Evander as an anti-type of Dido see Introd. 3 (ii).

172 **quando** 'since'...**amici** 'as friends' (predicative).

174 **iam nunc**: this repetition, employed by V. very rarely, casts its emphasis over the whole sentence ('make yourselves at home straight away') and also on the adjacent word *sociorum* (balancing *amici* at 172): the Arcadians are allies 'as of now'.

175 **dapes**: meal offered to a god in primitive Italian religion; at a later stage, images of the gods were placed at the feast and the worshippers ate those parts of the meat not reserved for the gods (Bailey 51–3). See also 273–9.

sublata reponi pocula: Evander orders the dishes, which had been cleared away, to be brought back to the table. The ritual fell into two parts: a midday feast, just being concluded when the Trojans arrived, followed by an afternoon rest (here partly filled, presumably, by Evander's recital of the story of Hercules and Cacus) and a renewal of the rite at evening. Fowler 65–6 points to a similar division in the rite of the Arval brethren, reorganised by Augustus, which ended with the singing of the Arval hymn, just as the present rite ends with the singing of the hymn to Hercules.

176–8 The first of Evander's two hospitable invitations to Aen., the second being at 366–8 (where *locauit* echoes *locat* here): see further Introd. 3 (ii). The pastoral language also recalls the description of the inhabitants of the Elysian fields at 6.637–78 (especially 642, 673–5).

177 **uillosi pelle leonis**: besides typifying the simple furnishings of a pastoral king, the skin of a wild animal (at 368 a bear's skin) occurs in book VII as part of the ritual of *incubatio* (Introd. 2 (iv)). In addition, the lion's skin is a symbol of Hercules; it is first associated

with Aen. at 2.722, when he puts it on before leaving Troy, and associated with him again at 8.552 below. There may also be an anti-type here: the lion's skin was worn by Hercules' son Aventinus, one of the enemy chieftains catalogued at the end of VII (655ff.): that passage alludes to the arrival of Hercules in Latium, now to be recounted by Evander. Aventinus stands in the same anti-typical relationship to his father Hercules as Cacus does to his father Vulcan.

180–1 For the metonymy (Ceres = bread, Bacchus = wine) cf. 495n. The figure is conventional (see Bailey 108–9, 150–1, and Williams on 5.77–8) but is particularly effective here, since a religious ceremony is being described. Henry, in his note on 274–5, comments on the parallel between the Hercules rite and Christian communion.
canistris: cf. 1.701–2 *Cereremque canistris | expediunt.*

183 **perpetui** is Homer's διηνεκής, 'unbroken', i.e. cut from the whole length of the chine. *extis*: the *exta* were the inner organs (heart, liver, etc.) eaten, according to Livy, 1.7, by the priests of the Hercules cult: see 269–72.

184 A formulaic line based on Homer's αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο: 'when they had put from them the desire for drink and food'. Variants are at 1.216 *postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae*, and 1.723 *postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae.*
amor edendi occurs in Lucr. 4.869.

185–8 **non...imposuit:** Evander's long narration of the 'aristeia' of Hercules against Cacus begins with an elaborately constructed sentence, in which the negative is separated from its verb by a tricolon (cf. 1–6, 441 nn.) of three parallel noun-clauses in apposition, each beginning with a different form of the demonstrative (*haec, has, hanc*): the figure called polyptoton. These phrases form the grammatical objects of the verb *imposuit*, but are also the very objects which would at once strike Aen. with curiosity (the ritual, the feast, the altar). They neither account for nor seem to need the negative with which Evander begins. This is explained only by the fourth and final noun-clause, which is in the nominative, and forms the subject of the verb – a subject which requires emphatic negation. 'All this', says Evander, 'does *not* mean that we are the victims of empty superstition.'

185 sollemnia: a ritual act performed at the appointed time and place.

186 ex more: like the commoner *de more* (see 544) and *in morem* (282), this is properly an adverbial phrase, 'in the customary manner': cf. also 5.244, 6.39. Here, however, it has the force of an adjective, 'traditional'. See also 88n.

187 For the structure of this line, which consists of a noun in the nominative with two adjectives linked by the copulative, the second having participial force and governing a second noun, cf. 508 and 12.648 *sancta ad uos anima atque istius inscia culpae*. This use of the double adj. was imitated by Milton; see Gransden, 'Paradise Lost and the Aeneid', *Essays in Criticism* 18 (1967) 290–1.

superstitio: the pursuit of strange gods, a rite outside the proper Roman ritual. The word is contrasted with *religio* in 439. Dryden renders both words as 'superstition', thus spoiling, not uncharacteristically, Virgil's important distinction. The word recurs in the *Aeneid* only at 12.817, where Juno, echoing Homer's Hera in *Il.* 15.36–8, swears by the Styx, *una superstitio superis quae reddita diuis*. Fowler, *The death of Turnus* 141–4, compares Palinurus' reference to the Styx at 6.324, *di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen*. The region of the Styx lies outside the Olympian religion. Hercules on the other hand is a deified hero whose rite belongs to the official religion of Augustan Rome. It was indeed the only foreign rite adopted by Romulus, according to Livy, 1.7, who says that Romulus saw in it a prefiguration of his own deification for virtue. At a time when Augustus was undertaking his programme of religious reform it would have been important for V. to emphasise through Evander that the Hercules rite was not an exotic imported novelty like the worship of Isis: cf. 699ff. and Fowler 57–8, quoting Suetonius, *Aug.* 93: 'peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut *ueteres* ac praeceptas reuerentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit.' So *ueterum* here is emphatic, balancing *nouamus* in 189 (see n.). In defending the worship of saviour-gods who were once men (not only Hercules, but also Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, Aeneas himself), Virgil–Evander may be covertly defending the honours recently heaped on Augustus: cf. Horace, *C.* 3.3.9ff., Introd. 2 (iii).

It is also possible that V. is offering a refutation of Lucretius'

attacks on religion in general and Hercules in particular (*D.R.N.* 5.1–54). Lucretius nowhere uses the word *superstitio* (for him all religion *was* superstition) but at 1.62–5 he depicts human life as *oppressa graui sub religione, | quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat | horribili* super *aspectu mortalibus* instans. Servius refers to this passage in his note on *superstitio*: 'secundum Lucretium superstitio est superstantium rerum, id est caelestium et diuinarum, quae super nos stant, inanis et superfluus timor.' See E. J. Kenney in *Quality and pleasure in Latin poetry*, ed. T. Woodman and D. West (1974), 20–4.

188–9 seruati is causal: 'it is because we have been saved... that...'. Camps 99 suggests that the phrase *saeuis periclis seruati* would have conveyed to Virgil's readers an analogy between Hercules, who had saved the earliest settlers on the site of Rome from mortal peril, and Augustus, the *seruator mundi* (Prop. 4.6.37), who had saved the republic at Actium (for his emergence as *seruator* in 29 B.C. see Tarn and Charlesworth 151) and who on 13 Jan. 27 B.C. had received the honours of the oak-leaves over his door and the golden shield *ob ciues seruatos*: see *R.G.* 34 and cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1.48, describing Augustus' house. See further Introd. 3 (iii); Drew 7ff.; and 37, 269, 285, 301–2, 616nn.

facimus: either governing *honores*, or absolutely, with *sacra* understood, as in *Ecl.* 3.77.

nouamus: it is clear from 173 and 185 that this is an annual ritual commemorating Hercules' victory over Cacus an unspecified number of years ago; it is not being performed for the first time. Thus Servius is right in saying '*renouamus* debuit dicere' but wrong in quoting as a parallel 4.260 *Aenean fundantem arces et tecta nouantem.*

nouamus here must carry (see also n. on 187) an ambiguity which is central to book VIII and indeed to the whole *Aeneid*. Whenever Virgil introduces aetiology it is to link present and past, to convey both the antiquity of a tradition (so that the 'novelty' of its supposed introduction will strike the Augustan reader with precisely the opposite force) and its continuity. See also n. on *rettulit*, 342–3.

190–305

Evander recounts Hercules' victory over Cacus, commemorated annually in the Roman calendar on 12 August by the ceremonies at

the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium. This passage is the poem's longest aetiological ecphrasis (Bailey 55–9), explaining the origin of the ruined cave on the Aventine; it is at the same time an extended 'aristeia' in the poet's grandest epic style (Introd. 4 (iv)). No other account of the legend receives such full-scale treatment. In that of Livy (1.7), written just before Virgil's, there is little detail or drama; Cacus there is a bullying shepherd (partly no doubt through assimilation with the Homeric story of Odysseus and the Cyclops); in Dionysius (1.39–42) he is a robber-baron. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.543ff. and Propertius 4.9 are purely aetiological. Virgil emphasises typological parallels between Cacus, Turnus and Antony, as enemies of civilisation, and between Hercules, Aeneas and Augustus as defenders of it, so that the exploit becomes a model of the 'heroic encounter' with evil; he also makes Cacus a fire-breathing chthonic demon, a son of Vulcan. Similar victories over monsters were attributed to other heroes, notably Theseus who slew the Minotaur and the bull of Marathon: the latter exploit was the subject of Callimachus' narrative poem *Hecale*, on which Virgil may have drawn: see Introd. 3 (ii).

The theft of a god's cattle is an ancient Indo-European myth, which occurs also in the story of the oxen of the sun (*Odyssey* XII). Hercules himself had just killed the monster Geryon in Spain and was carrying off his cattle (201ff. n.) when Cacus robbed him; the story can in part be seen as an assimilation of one of Hercules' traditional labours so as to link the hero to Rome when his cult was reconstructed there on Greek lines (Grant 54–7). But Cacus himself is a confused and confusing figure: in some Etruscan versions of the myth he is the hero, either an Orpheus-figure (the role here transferred to Hercules, notably in 243–6) or an Evander-figure, a kind of 'genius loci'. His transformation into a villain was doubtless helped by word-play: *kakos* in Greek = 'bad man' in implied contrast to the established local figure of Evander = Greek 'good man': see Grant 50–2, Ogilvie 55–7. This fluctuation of roles was further complicated by the fact that Cacus and Caca were primitive Italian fire-deities originally associated with the Palatine: Virgil alludes to this tradition when he makes Vulcan Cacus' father, for the fire-god is himself an ambiguous figure: see Introd. 3 (iv). To complete his transformation of Cacus into a monster, which became the official and definitive version of the myth, Virgil transferred his home from the Palatine, where it

traditionally was, as witness the still-surviving Scalae Caci (see Introd. 3 (iii)) to the Aventine (231) which lay outside the sacred Roman *pomerium* and was the home of Remus, who trespassed on the Palatine and was slain by Romulus (Introd. 2 (iii)). A further identification has been suggested between Cacus and Caeculus, legendary founder of Praeneste and also a son of Vulcan: he appears in the 'Catalogue' of Italian chiefs allied with Turnus against Aeneas in book VII, see 678–81, Fowler, *Virgil's gathering of the clans* 56–9.

For an extended discussion of this episode see G. K. Galinsky, *The Heracles theme* (1972) 129–49.

190–2 A good example of how V. builds a sentence by the use of 'theme and variation'. Evander begins his narrative by pointing out the rock-face with the roofless and isolated remains of Cacus' cave: an anti-type of the ruins of earlier settlements, *disiectis oppida muris*, which he points out to Aen. in the city itself (355). The destruction of the cave also offers a powerful analogy with that of Troy: see further 157–9n. When Venus appeared to Aen. in the falling city she pointed to the ruin being wrought by the gods, *hic, ubi disiectas moles auulsaque saxis | saxa uides* (2.608). See also 241–2n. below. The cave also recalls that at Lake Avernus, the entrance to the underworld (243–6n.). Both these desolate and uneasy memories are part of Aen.'s own experience as he gazes now.

For the constr. of *ut* cf. 6.855 *aspice, ut...Marcellus... | ingreditur*, 6.779 *uiden, ut geminae stant uertice cristae*. There is a similar usage in English, e.g. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice* 5.1.58, 'Look how the floor of heaven | Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold'. *ut* in such constructions was felt modally, not locally (Fordyce on Catullus 11.3, Hofmann–Szantyr 630–1) but its effect is similar to that of the constr. with *ubi* exemplified in 2.608 quoted immediately above.

Spenser's marauding ogre Malengin, *F.Q.* 5.9.4ff., 'which wonned in a rock not far away, | That robbed all the country thereabout', contains echoes of Cacus, particularly in the description of his cave:

> And eke the rock in which he wonts to dwell
> Is wondrous strong, and hewen far underground
> A dreadful depth, how deep no man can tell,
> But some do say it goeth down to hell.

194 semihominis Caci facies: cf. Lucretius 2.702 *semiferas hominum species. semihominis* is scanned as a quadrisyllable, like *semianimi* in 12.356 (synizesis, cf. 292n.).

195 inaccessam: a rare word, not found before V.; it also occurs at 7.11.

196–7 These lines have an elaborate alliterative pattern of interlaced *bs*, *ts*, *ps* and *fs*.

Cacus' hideous trophies are anti-types of Latinus' at 7.183ff. and Augustus' in the temple of Apollo: see 721, echoing *superbis* here, 'triumphant'; the same epithet is appropriately given to Hercules *triumphator*, see 201–3n.

198 A grammatical pause at the end of the fourth foot is known, from its frequent occurrence in Greek pastoral hexameters, as the 'bucolic diaeresis'. There are 61 such lines in the *Aeneid* (in the *Eclogues* the incidence is greater): other exx. in VIII are at 352, 388, 666. Although modern punctuation may well exaggerate the pause which would have been felt in lines of this type, the bucolic diaeresis is clearly a conscious prosodic feature in V. and his successors. Fourth-foot diaeresis without a grammatical pause is common in Virgil and Ovid, but in these cases the fourth foot is more often a spondee than a dactyl, even in the *Eclogues* (Allen 336–7); whereas when V. uses the bucolic diaeresis, the fourth foot is usually, as in Theocritus, a dactyl; in addition, Soubiran has noted a tendency, from Virgil onward, for the word which ends the fourth foot to be (as here and at 388) a pyrrhic (Allen 116 n.3).

198–9 illius atros . . . ignis: it is the smoky fire of his father Vulcan, destructive fire (see Introd. 3 (iv)), that Cacus spews forth; it recurs at 252–5.

199 magna se mole ferebat: cf. 693 *tanta mole*; 3.656 *uasta se mole mouentem*. Ablative of manner, with quasi-adverbial force: see Palmer, *LL* 302–3. Virgil's uses of the ablative are more fluid and wide-ranging than those of his predecessors, as Mackail points out (513ff.): 'it must be borne in mind that the ablative case is an invention of grammarians, and that Virgil, like all other authors, did not think or write in terms of "cases" but in those of inflected forms of words.

Each of these forms, but this one especially, might convey different meanings according to its place and function in the phrase; the phrase, not the isolated word, being the real unit of language.'

200–1 attulit. . .dei: a characteristically Virgilian sentiment. For the idea that divine aid will come to those who pray for it, cf. 3.395 *aderit. . .uocatus Apollo*. For the deified hero see Introd. 2 (iii) and 187, 188–9, 301, 364–5nn. V. emphasises here the parallel between Hercules and Aen.; the latter's 'arrival and aid' being no less timely than the former's, as Evander explains later (470ff.). Both heroes are prefigurations of Augustus, who appears as 'saviour' e.g. at *Georg.* 1.500.

et 'too', 'also'; to be taken with *nobis*. For the emphasis cf. 1.203 *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit*.

aliquando 'eventually'. *aetas* 'time'.

The alliterative pattern here is strikingly effective.

201ff Hercules, having slain the three-bodied monster Geryon, carried off his cattle and arrived at Evander's valley, the site of the Roman Forum Boarium (cattle-market). Cacus stole four bulls and four heifers, dragging them backwards by their tails to his cave, so that no foot-prints should betray their hiding-place. Hercules, having pastured the herd, was preparing to move on; but the lowing of the herd as it began to depart called forth an answer from the concealed animals. So too Livy; D.H. omits the picturesque folkloristic detail of the lowing, and says that Hercules noticed his loss by counting the herd.

201–3 'For, mightiest of avengers, triumphant with the triple death of Geryon and its trophies [i.e. the cattle] Hercules appeared, and led the great bulls hither victorious.' Evander's language is appropriately triumphant. The 'triple death' of Geryon emphasises the parallel between Hercules *triumphator* and Augustus *triplici inuectus. . . triumpho* (714): cf. also 301–2n. The capture of Cerberus is another exploit of H. involving a three-headed monster. *hac* is emphatic: 'to this very valley'. *uictor:* cf. 50, 61, 362n.

Geryon was one of the monsters whose forms appeared to Aen. at hell-mouth, 6.289: see also 300n.

203–4 agebat...tenebant: rhyming or near-rhyming lines, especially with the imperfect indicative, are not infrequently admitted by V. Cf. 213–14, 281–2, 359–60, 646–8, 656–7. For a rhyme involving the present participle see 620–1, and for a 'leonine' rhyme, 649. Further information is in Austin's n. on 4.55; see also S. E. Winbolt, *Latin hexameter verse* (1903) 161.

204 uallemque...amnemque: for the double *-que* cf. 94n. Here the effect is that of a hendiadys: 'the river-valley'.

205 furis Caci mens effera: for the periphrasis cf. 194n.
furis: most of the MSS read *furiis* (cf. 219). *fur* is not an epic word and does not occur elsewhere in the *Aen.*, but is used by Propertius in his aetiological poem on Hercules and Cacus, 4.9.13, 14: cf. 211n. on *raptor*.

206 fuisset: used instead of *esset*, to suggest, as Sidgwick noted, 'the completion of his purpose'. No one would be able to say he had left any crime unattempted.

207 praestanti corpore 'spendid-bodied'. For the abl. of description see Mackail 514–15: he points out that V. used it often in place of the compound epithet, of the kind in which Homeric epic abounds: cf. Palmer 102–3. So too in the next line, *forma superante*, 'of surpassing beauty'. These two lines closely resemble *Georg.* 4.550–1.

209 'To prevent any prints from feet pointing forward.' Servius says that *pedibus rectis* is dative for genitive, but it could also be ablative (of origin or instrumental). Perhaps cf. 11.573 *utque pedum primis infans uestigia plantis | institerat.* The picturesque detail, closely copied by Propertius, 4.9.11–12, is from the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 76–8.

211 raptor is Wakefield's ingenious emendation, for which he compares Propertius 4.9.9 (see also 205, 209nn.); the MSS read *raptos*: the participle 'doubling' *tractos* is not un-Virgilian, but in this instance seems rather weak.

213–14 Theme and variation: H. was on the point of getting the cattle moving, and preparing to depart.

213 stabulis: from their pasture (as in 207).

214 Amphitryoniades: cf. 103.

215–16 'The cattle low as they move off and the woods are filled with their cries and the hills are abandoned noisily.' For the last phrase Servius compares 1.519 *templum clamore petebant*. The paratactic construction of the tricolon is typical of V. (Introd. 4 (iii) and cf. 1–6n.), each element consisting of a noun-subject, a verb in the historic infinitive and a second qualifying noun in the ablative: theme and two variations, as Henry points out in his excellent note on the lines, which have occasioned needless difficulty. The articulation of the couplet is linked by enjambment, by a word-order which offers intricate symmetries (e.g. *relinqui* balances not only *impleri* but also *discessu*) and by an interlaced alliterative pattern of *q*, *c*, *r* and *l*.

218 custodita 'although imprisoned' (predicative). Until the moment when the concealed animal lowed, Cacus, watching Hercules move off, must have thought he was safe.

219 'At this, the black-galled fury of H. really blazed up.' *atro felle:* abl. used in substitution for a compound epithet (207n.). For Hercules *furens*, cf. 299n.

220–1 H. snatches up his famous club and starts to climb the hill.

222–3 nostri...oculi: the MSS, and most edd., including Mynors, read *oculis*. *oculi* ('then for the first time our eyes saw Cacus frightened and confused') was adopted by Henry (though not all his arguments are acceptable) and Heinze 485n. Conington and Mackail read *oculis* on the ground that Evander must be assumed not to have been present. But the whole point of the narrative is that Evander tells the story, not as a legend but as something that actually happened in his own time (Fowler 59). Would Evander have missed so notable a battle? *oculi* would vouch for the story at first-hand, underwriting the dramatic and vivid details which follow. *nostri...oculi* also gives an effective 'enclosing word-order' (28–9n.).

The main objection to *oculis* is that it is weak, if not ambiguous. It could be taken with *uidere*, referring to the Arcadians, or with *timentem turbatumque* (rather than just with *turbatum*, as most commentators, including Henry, assume), referring to Cacus; it seems unlikely that V., at the beginning of his narrative, would leave the

reader in this kind of doubt. Even if it is argued that *oculis* is too far away from *uidere* to refer to anyone except Cacus, the precise location of Cacus' fear (and surely the watching Arcadians were not close enough to see the expression in his eyes) seems much weaker than the absolute panic conveyed by the phrase *timentem turbatumque*. For *turbatus* used absolutely cf. 2.67, for *timentem* cf. 12.875.

222 The slow heavy spondees emphasise the tension at this point in the narrative.

223 **fugit illicet ocior Euro:** the epic hyperbole is appropriate to the heightened manner in which the story is told. The phrase recurs (without *ilicet*) at 12.733. The rhythm here, with its marked coincidence of verse ictus and word accent, conveys a sense of sudden speed (cf. 239). The metrical pattern of 223 is repeated in 224 (App. B), in which the alliterative sequence of *p*, *t* and *d* and the effect of *petit*, *pedibus* seem also intended to convey the speed of Cacus' retreat.

226 **ferro...et arte:** hendiadys (38n.). For Vulcan's art cf. 377, 401.

226–7 Cacus barricades himself inside his cave, blocking the entrance with a huge rock. *fultos* 'supported'. *obice* (= *obiice*) also occurs, as the obstacle (again a stone) which guards Proteus' cave, *Georg.* 4.422. *obice postis:* also at 11.890. The whole phrase *fultosque... postis* is a good instance of the way V. builds up a sentence with words whose meanings support and reinforce each other.

228 **Tirynthius:** Hercules was said to have been brought up in the city of Tiryns: cf. 7.662. *Laurentia uictor | Geryone exstincto Tirynthius attigit arua.*

omnemque: the final syllable is hypermetric, being elided before the following line, a licence V. permits himself 21 times, other Latin poets at most once or twice: Soubiran 467.

229 **lustrans** 'scanning'. In 231 it means 'goes round' (see 153n.).

huc ora ferebat et illuc: the weak caesura in both fourth and fifth feet provides the effect of a 'false ending' at *ferebat*. Lines of this type are uncommon in V.: see Austin on 4.58. For a 'false ending' at the fourth foot see 452–3n.

230 dentibus infrendens 'grinding his teeth'; the phrase is also used in the *Aen.* of Polyphemus, 3.664, and (in a simile describing Mezentius) of the wild boar, 10.718.

231 Auentini montem: Virgil locates Cacus' cave on the Aventine (see Comm. 190–305) rather than the Palatine; so too Ovid, *Fasti* 1.551 and D.H. 1.39. A tradition seems to have placed it near the Porta Trigemina, where Hercules was said to have dedicated a temple to Jupiter Inventor in honour of his victory (D.H. 1.39): cf. 269–72n., Lugli 313, Fowler 61–2.

233 praecisis undique saxis 'sheer on all sides'; the stones round it having been cut away, the large stone here described (*silex*) stood out perpendicular.

236–40 For the topography of these lines see Fowler 60–2. The stone was on top of, and formed the roof of, the cave, and leant over towards the river. 'Left' is relative not to Aen. and Evander (who must have been looking downstream to the Aventine from the Forum Boarium) but to Hercules, who would have been facing upstream with the river on his left. Coming, then, from the right, he put his weight against the stone, pushed it away from him towards the river, uprooted it and hurled it over the precipice: cf. Milton's Hercules who 'Lichas from the top of Oeta threw | Into th'Euboic Sea' (*P.L.* 2.545–6), a simile depicting the fallen angels who 'with vast Typhoean rage | Rend up both rocks and hills'.

refluit: cf. *refluens*, 87; but the river's behaviour with Aeneas was not caused by terror but by divine intervention. The present passage resembles 9.124–5 *cunctatur et amnis | rauca sonans reuocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto*. The figure may be classified as hyperbole or 'pathetic fallacy' (cf. Williams on 3.672ff.), or as an 'adynaton' (reversal of the natural order of things). There is no warrant in the Latin for the assumption, made by some critics, that the dislodged rock fell into the river and dammed it up: see further the n. by Henry, adducing Ovid, *Fasti* 1.567, where it is specifically stated that the rock fell to the ground.

238–9 Hercules' strength is effectively conveyed by the use of enjambment (for the sense-break at *impulit* cf. 1–6n.), the conflict between ictus and accent in *aduersum nitens...auulsam soluit* followed

by the correspondence in the dactyls of *radícibus índe repénte | ímpulit . . . máximus íntonat aéther*, and the 'figura etymologica' (*impulit*; *impulsu*).

241–67 This passage is analysed in the Introd. 4 (iv).

241 **At** marks a new stage in the narrative: cf. 370n., Introd. 4 (iii).

241–2 **specus et . . . regia:** hendiadys.

ingens: 43n.

For this description of the breaking open of Cacus' cave cf. Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 440 V[2] *tum caua sub montem late specus intus patebat.* Putnam 34–6, 133–4 finds some verbal correspondences between the present lines and the descriptions in book II (19–20, 483–4) of the wooden horse and the Greeks breaking into Priam's palace.

243–6 This magnificent simile, modelled on *Il.* 20.61ff., is particularly appropriate both because Cacus may have been identified with a chthonic deity (see 190–305n.) and because Hercules himself descended into the underworld (see 296–7). Fowler 62–4 notes a probable allusion here to the primitive Roman rite of opening, on three days of the year, the *mundus* or entrance to the underworld, referred to by Varro *apud* Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.16.18 *mundus cum patet deorum tristium et inferum quasi ianua patet.* The *mundus* was located on the Palatine, in the area known as the Germalus, at the heart of the Romulean city: Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* 11.2, Lugli 161–2.

245 **pallida:** cf. *pallentem* at 709n., describing Cleopatra before her death.

super = *desuper*, cf. 249.

barathrum (Gk βάραθρον) 'abyss', often used of the underworld (cf. Lucr. 3.966).

246 **cernatur, trepident:** for the asyndeton cf. 3.199 *abstulit, ingeminant.*

248 **insueta rudentem** 'bellowing as never before'. For the adverbial acc. cf. *infanda furentem*, 489.

249 **telis . . . omniaque:** an echo of Aen. at Troy (cf. 241–2, 262nn.), 2.467–8 *nec saxa nec ullum | telorum interea cessat genus.* Hercules here mediates between Aen. the defeated Trojan and Aen. the soon-to-be-victorious Italian.

For the elision of *-que* at the end of a dactylic word in the fifth foot, cf. 7.648, 9.579, *Georg.* 3.484; Soubiran 465.

250 uastis is to be taken both with *ramis* and with *molaribus*: the figure known as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ: Hofmann–Szantyr 834–5, E. J. Kenney, *C.Q.* N.S. 8 (1958) 55.

molaribus 'mill-stones', here used (particular for general) of any large stones, like Homer's μυλάκεσσι, *Il.* 12.161.

251 pericli: for the form (= *periculi*) see 73n.; the gen. is normal after *fuga* (= 'escape from'). *super* = *superest.*

251–6 An unusually elaborate sequence of repeated metrical patterns (Introd. 4 (iv), App. B).

252–6 Cacus puts out a smoke-screen, cf. 198–9n. Cf. Allecto's visitation upon Turnus of torches *atro lumine fumantis*, 7.456ff.

253 caeca: there may be a word-play here on the name Cacus (cf. n. on Caeculus under 190–305).

255 fumiferam: another compound adj. not found before Virgil.

256 non tulit (sc. haec) 'did not put up with this': the object is supplied at 2.407, 9.622, 10.578, 12.371.

257–8 qua...atra 'where the smoke rolls its wave thickest and the huge cave seethes with black clouds': theme and variation.

ingens: as in 241.

260–1 'He grabs him, clasping him into a knot, and gripping him close squeezes his eyes till they start from his head and his throat till it is drained dry of blood.' *elisos* and *siccum* are predicative. For H.'s treatment of Cacus cf. his strangling of the two snakes, 288–9.

263 A striking ex. of homoeoteleuton (juxtaposition of similar case-endings) combined with a rare form of symmetry (a pair of adjective–noun units). Cf. *Georg.* 1.470 *obscenaeque canes importunaeque uolucres*, *Aen.* 11.870 *disiectique duces desolatique manipli.*

265 The sense-break at *protrahitur* is particularly effective: see 62n.

265–7 The closing lines of the narrative are marked by an acceleration of tempo, produced by a repeated metrical pattern (see App. B), the use of enjambment, and a marked coincidence of ictus and accent

in 267, where the elisions before and after *atque* have the effect of weakening the third-foot caesura, the only one in the line.

For the amazement with which the Arcadians gazed on the dead monster cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* 1.12.9–12:

> But when they came, where that dead Dragon lay,
> Stretcht on the ground in monstrous large extent...
> Another said, that in his eyes did rest
> Yet sparckling fire, and bad thereof take heed;
> Another said, he saw him move his eyes indeed.
> ...Whiles some more bold, to measure him nigh stand,
> To prove how many acres he did spread of land.

268 Ex illo (sc. *tempore*): marking the end of the ecphrasis.

celebratus: sc. *est*.

laeti: cf. 279, 311. The dominant mood of the day is one of happiness and thanksgiving.

minores: Evander was of course a contemporary of Hercules; but he is now very old (cf. 307) and may be supposed to have been a young man at the time of the event he has just described. Cf. also *iuuenes* in 273.

269 seruauere: i.e. they have 'kept' this day: cf. the aetiology of the *lusus Troiae* (another ancient rite revived by Augustus) described in 5.597ff. *Roma...patrium seruauit honorem*. The word also refers us back to *seruati*, 189 (a good instance of 'ring composition'). The Arcadians 'save' this day for Hercules because on it he himself saved them. For Aen. as the preserver of Troy see 37. V.'s theme throughout VIII is continuity.

269–72 The Ara Maxima was traditionally established by the Potitii and Pinarii; these two families remained in charge of the rite until 312 B.C. when it was taken over by the state (Livy 1.7, Ogilvie 60–1). The Potitii played the main part, the Pinarii, because, it was said, they arrived late for the first sacrifice, being relegated to a subordinate role, here concealed under the vaguely honorific title of *custos*. A member of the Potitii, Valerius Potitus, was *suffectus* in the year of Augustus' triple triumph (Dio 51.21, Ehrenberg and Jones, Fasti for 29 B.C.). Behind the emphatic reference to the Ara Maxima here a parallel may also be intended with another altar dedicated by

Augustus to Victoria on 28 August 29 B.C. (Ehrenberg and Jones, Calendar 51): D. L. Drew argued (17–19) that V.'s aim in book VIII was to allude by typological analogy to various rituals and ceremonies which took place in August 29 B.C., the month of Augustus' triumph.

Some editors print a full stop after *sacri* at 270, but this is unnecessary unless the subject of *statuit* is Hercules himself. This tradition did exist: see Livy 1.7.11, Ovid, *Fasti* 1.587, Propertius 4.9.67–70. Servius tells us that the Potitii and Pinarii got their original instructions direct from Hercules (*quibus, qualiter se coli uellet, ostendit*). V. may have wanted to hedge here, having reservations (with the parallel between Hercules and Augustus in mind) about altars being self-dedicated by living heroes. According to D.H. 1.39–40, Hercules dedicated an altar on this occasion not to himself but to Jupiter Inventor, near the Porta Trigemina, close to the Aventine (Fowler 61), the Ara Maxima being subsequently 'improvised' by Evander, anxious to be the first man to sacrifice to Hercules, for whom immortality through virtue had been prophesied by his (Evander's) mother.

271–2 Propertius (4.9.67–8) imitates this repetition.

273–305 The completion of the rite at the Ara Maxima.

273–5 'Come then, boys, on with the feasting.' Evander ends his long narrative on a note of cheerfulness and rejoicing, which is well conveyed in these lines, with their preponderance of dactyls, giving marked correspondence between ictus and accent, and their elaborate alliterative pattern (*c, p, d, c, u, d, u*).

The metrical structure of 275 is unusual: there are weak caesuras in the second and third feet while in the fourth the elision in *deum et date* carries the line through virtually without further pause.

Henry comments on the parallel between this ritual and the Christian communion (see also 278–9).

273 tantarum in munere laudum 'in honour of such great glory'.

274 porgite (= *porrigite*): a 'low' form taken into epic by Virgil. Catullus and Horace did not admit the form, but Servius says that Ennius did.

275 communem 'the god we worship together'.

276 The white poplar (*bicolor* because the underside of its leaves was white and the upper green) grew beside the Tiber (see 32) and was sacred to Hercules (cf. *Ecl.* 7.61, Horace, *C.* 1.7.23). Servius says he made himself a hat of poplar leaves when he descended into the underworld, the two colours symbolising light and darkness; this symbolism was formalised in the renaissance in Alciati's book of emblems (reproduction in R. Freeman, *English emblem books* (1948) pl. 5). In historical times the priests of the Ara Maxima wore crowns of laurel, the tree sacred to Apollo.

278 scyphus: Servius records the tradition that Hercules brought into Italy a sacred wooden cup which was resinated to preserve it from decay. There is an analogy here with medieval saints' relics.

279 in mensam laeti libant: for *laeti* cf. 268, and for the ritual of libation at the *dapes* cf. 1.736–7 *in mensam laticum libavit honorem | primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore.*

280 Vesper Olympo: the cadential phrase is repeated from *Ecl.* 6.86, *Aen.* 1.374. Again V. marks the passing of time on this important day.

282 in morem: see 186n.

283–4 The formula is characteristically arranged to form a tricolon.
instaurant 'renew': usually in a ritual context, cf. 7.146.
cumulantque...aras: also at 12.215.

285 Salii: two colleges of these 'dancing priests' existed at Rome in historical times; they were traditionally founded by Numa and Tullus Hostilius. Twice yearly, in ceremonies which perhaps symbolised peace and war, they carried in procession the *ancilia* (for these sacred relics see 664) and sang a hymn of praise to the ancient Roman deities Quirinus (identified with the deified Romulus) and Mars: the *carmen saliare.* See D.H. 2.70, Dumézil 275–7, 591. The Salii were said to have originated at Tibur (cf. Bailey 57) from which city the cult of Hercules was brought to Rome. V.'s appropriation of the *carmen saliare* to Hercules and Evander is a characteristic anachronism and an allusion to Augustus, whose name was inserted into the *carmen* (which

included other deities besides Mars and Quirinus, e.g. Ceres and Janus) by senatorial decree in honour of his victory at Actium: *R.G.* 10.1, Dio 51.20, Binder 192–4. See also 301–2n.

287–8 laudes...et facta ferunt 'tell of the glorious deeds of Hercules': hendiadys. Cf. 10.281–2 *nunc magna referto | facta, patrum laudes*. For the corresponding emphasis on the heroic deeds of Aen. see 514ff. n.

288 ut: here and at 290, 291 = 'how'.

nouercae: Juno is called Hercules' stepmother because she was the wife of his father, Jupiter. Ovid uses the word frequently in *Met.* IX, where much of the mythology about H. is collected. For Virgil her hostility towards Hercules stands in typological analogy with her hostility towards Aeneas (see also 292n.). At H.'s birth she sent two snakes to kill him in his cradle, but he strangled them.

289 eliserit: cf. *elisos* at 261.

monstra...anguis: hendiadys. Two snakes also occur in association with Cleopatra, 697n., and with the Fury Allecto, 7.450.

291 Troiamque Oechaliamque: explaining and specifying the *egregias urbes* of the previous line. For the circumstances in which Hercules sacked Troy, see 157–9n. The old commentators thought the reference tactless, but the final destruction of Troy was the necessary prelude to the founding of Rome, cf. 2.325 *fuimis Troes, fuit Ilium.* Hercules, destroyer of Troy, is now celebrated as the preserver of Rome. Oechalia, a city in Euboea, was also destroyed by Hercules when its king refused him the promised hand of his daughter, and is thus a reinforcing parallel to Troy. The story of Oechalia was the subject of a now lost epic, used by Sophocles in his *Trachiniae.*

mille is used poetically of any number: here, twelve; at 5.609, seven.

292 Eurystheo: scanned as a trisyllable by synizesis, like *aureo* at 372.

fatis Iunonis iniquae 'by the will of Juno' (see n. on *fatum* at 731); the phrase recalls *odiis Iunonis acerbae* at 1.668, where the reference is to Aen. Both heroes suffered at Juno's hands.

293–302 These lines conform, in content and style, to a well-established hymnic tradition: an invocation followed by allusions to

the god's birth and deeds, including brief stories (the 'pars epica'), and concluding with a prayer. The repeated pronoun *tu...tu...te...te* is characteristic: cf. Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.6–7, Lucretius 1.1ff. For the mixture of direct and indirect speech cf. also the hymn to Apollo in Apollonius 2.700–19. See also Nisbet and Hubbard 127–31.

293–5 nubigenas...Hylaeumque Pholumque: Centaurs, children of Ixion and of a cloud fashioned by Jupiter in the form of Juno. Two of the Latin leaders opposed to Aen. in the Catalogue in book VII are compared to Centaurs (7.674).

Cretia...prodigia: the wild bull of Crete; poetic plural, probably for metrical convenience (cf. 675).

296 ianitor Orci: Orcus was an underworld deity (Gk Ὅρκος): see Bailey 251–2. His janitor was the three-headed dog Cerberus, whom Hercules brought back from the underworld.

297 This description of Cerberus 'crouching in his bloody cave over half-chewed bones' recalls the cave of Cacus, 195–7.

298 Typhoeus (sometimes called Typhon) was a giant who rebelled against Jupiter and was punished by being buried beneath Mt Etna, where his periodic attempts to escape were aetiologically associated with earthquakes and eruptions (Ovid, *Met.* 5.321ff.). He is a parallel figure with Cacus (both are monsters who belch forth fire from caves associated with the underworld) and is here used by V. as a type of the various giants and monsters fought by heroes and gods: see further G. S. Kirk, *Myth* (1970) 187, and cf. Horace, *C.* 3.4.53ff. *sed quid Typhoeus et ualidus Mimas, | aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu, | quid Rhoetus euulsisque truncis | Enceladus iaculator audax | contra sonantem Palladis aegida | possent ruentes?*

This part of V.'s hymn is imitated by Milton, *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 224–8 (Hercules often figures in the renaissance as a type of Christ):

Not all the gods beside
Longer dare abide,
  Not Typhon huge ending in snaky twine;
Our Babe to shew his Godhead true
Can in his swadling bands controul the damned crew.

299 arduus arma tenens: the double adjective in asyndeton, common in archaic Latin (77n.), was admitted by classical writers under certain specific conditions, e.g. when one adjective is a participle or has adverbial force: see the n. on Ovid, *Her.* 16.45–6 by Diana G. White, *H.S.C.P.* (1970) 187–91. V. is particularly fond of this construction with *arduus*: cf. 683 *arduus agmen agens*, 5.287 *arduus attollens*, 5.567 *ostentans arduus*, 11.755 *arduus insurgens*. *arduus*: this epithet (like *ingens*) is characteristic of V.'s grand rhetorical style, being applied to a wide range of beings, including Jupiter, giants, a snake, a horse. The sense is that of 'towering' or 'rearing'.

non te rationis egentem: litotes for 'prudentissimum', as Servius noted. V. does not depict either Hercules or Aen. as immune from wrath (see 219, 228, Introd. 2 (iii)) but it is, perhaps, seen as a controlled wrath, with a plan behind it, and it is this which yields the hero victory over irrational forces and monsters. Cf. Horace, *C.* 3.4.65 *uis consili expers mole ruit sua.*

300 The killing of the Lernaean hydra is also alluded to at 6.803, a passage in which Hercules is compared with Augustus (Introd. 2 (iii)). This monster appeared to Aen., with Geryon, at hell-mouth (6.287) but as they were mere simulacra Aen.'s attempts to kill them were frustrated.

301–2 In this concluding prayer Hercules is clearly seen as prefiguring Augustus (cf. 200–1). See also 364–5n. and cf. *Ecl.* 4.48–9 *adgredere o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores, | cara deum suboles, magnum Iouis incrementum!* The child in the fourth Eclogue whose birth signals the return of the golden age, was seen by Servius as an allusion to Augustus. See further Introd. 3 (iv); Drew develops this idea in *The allegory of the Aeneid* 21–4: Hercules, like Romulus, prefigures Augustus as *triumphator* and as a man set apart for divine honours when his work on earth is done.

303 super omnia: the killing of Cacus is the climactic exploit of Hercules, the only one which links him geographically with Rome.

304 speluncam...spirantemque: the first word of the line and the first word after the caesura give an effective alliterative symmetry.

305 The same grove and hills which once resounded to the cries of Hercules' cattle (215–16) now resound to the hymn of triumph: another example of returning symmetry or 'ring-composition'.

306–369

The celebrations concluded, the two heroes walk from the Ara Maxima to Evander's house on the Palatine. This famous passage falls into two nearly equal parts. In 306–36, as they walk from the altar to the Porta Carmentalis, Evander describes the settlements in Latium from earliest times down to his own arrival. In 337–69, he points out notable landmarks inside the city, which by a deliberate use of anachronism, intended to emphasise the antiquity and continuity of the site of Rome, becomes the Romulean and post-Romulean city of V.'s own time.

306–7 The marking of place is as important in book VIII as the marking of time. This is the third line in a series (the others were 101, 125) which takes us towards the heart of the city. The Ara Maxima was outside the walls of the city, which the heroes do not enter until 337; hence *ad urbem* is strictly accurate.

The solemn effect of this spondaic line is not unlike that of the more famous 6.268, the start of the descent into the underworld, *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram.*

Exim = *exinde.*

diuinis rebus...perfectis: Norden in his note on 6.637 (*perfecto munere diuae*) points out that *perficere* is a technical term for the proper completion of a religious ceremony.

307 obsitus aeuo: literally, 'overgrown with age'.

309 Evander 'lightened the way with wide-ranging conversation'. Cf. 1.748, where Dido, after conducting Aen. round *her* city, 'prolonged the evening with wide-ranging conversation' (*uario noctem sermone trahebat*). Cf. also 310ff. with 1.418ff.: Aen. wondered at Carthage as now he wonders at Pallanteum. Dido is an anti-type of Evander, as Carthage is of Rome (99–100, 171nn.).

310–11 The mood of joyfulness, dominant ever since 273–5 (see n.) is conveyed by two lines with a common metrical pattern, by the

alliteration of *cs* and *ls*, and by certain key-words: *miratur* (cf. 91, 161, 619, 730) and *laetus* (cf. 268, 279, 617, and *gaudet* in 730). The 'motive of wonder' dominates this book: see J. R. Bacon, 'Aeneas in Wonderland', *C.R.* 53 (1939) 97–104.

facilis: 'willing', 'eager'; with *oculos*. For *fert oculos omnia circum* cf. 2.570 *passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti*.

capitur: we use the same idiom: Aeneas is 'taken with' all he sees.

312 uirum monimenta priorum: cf. 356 *ueterum...monimenta uirorum*.

Evander is one of Virgil's most successful creations: garrulous, pedantic, a keen amateur antiquary. Aeneas naturally seeks topographical information, but Evander is methodical and not to be hurried; as they walk, Aeneas must listen to a lecture on the early history of Latium. Guided tours have not changed much since Virgil's time.

313 Another solemn spondaic line, as befits the importance of Evander as the 'type' or forerunner of Aeneas, Romulus and Augustus. *conditor*, 'founder', occurs only here in the entire poem. The verb occurs frequently, of Aeneas as early as 1.5, of Romulus, 1.276, of Saturn, 8.357, of Augustus, 6.792. See further Introd. 3 (iv).

314 Cf. Lucr. 4.580–1 *haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere | finitimi fingunt et faunos esse loquuntur*... Fauns were male spirits of fields and woods, nymphs female spirits of streams: see Bailey 34–7. These creatures had prophetic powers (cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 214 V[2]): Latinus was the son of Faunus (7.47) and consulted the 'oracula Fauni' (7.81 and see Introd. 2 (iv)); Evander's mother was a nymph, see 340n.

315–27 Evander describes the primitive inhabitants of Latium, and the coming of Saturn, the first 'dux externus' or 'culture-hero'. For V.'s mythology see further Introd. 3 (iv), H. J. Schweitzer, *Vergil und Italien* (1967) 14–18, N. Horsfall, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1109.

315 This is a reference to the Greek myth (alluded to as an old joke by Penelope in *Od.* 19.163) that early man had no parents but was formed by the gods from rocks or trees. Cf. Juvenal 6.11–13 *tunc orbe nouo caeloque recenti | uiuebant homines, qui rupto robore nati | compositiue luto nullos habuere parentes*. In Hesiod, *Works and Days* 143ff., it is the

violent men of the third (bronze) race who were so formed, after the destruction of the silver race.

316 mos: 'a great Roman word', as Conway calls it in his note on 1.264, where Jupiter prophesies Aen.'s ktistic role in Latium: *populosque ferocis | contundet moresque uiris et moenia ponet.* It is clear that V. is using Saturn as a political paradigm, the first in a typological series.

316–17 iungere...componere...parcere: the double meanings of these words are central to V.'s argument in this passage. They belong to the world of agriculture ('yoke', 'store', 'ration') and also to that of politics: Saturn was both a primitive Italian agricultural deity (he so appears in 7.180) and a lawgiver, so that V. is describing two parallel processes. *componere* occurs in its political sense immediately below in the description of Saturn's reign (322); for *iungere* cf. 56n. and Lucretius 5.1019, on the beginnings of civilisation, *tunc et amicitiem coeperunt iungere auentes*; for *parcere* (= 'spare', 'have mercy on' the defeated) see 6.853 *parcere subiectis.*

319 A 'golden line', in which there is a central verb with two adjs. and two nouns disposed in symmetrical correspondence at the beginning and end of the line: cf. 684 and 1.291 which describes the restoration of the golden age of Augustus: *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis.* The metrical pattern of the present lines is repeated in the next two lines and again at 335–7 (App. B).

321 Cf. Lucretius 5.955 (Introd. 3 (iv)).
is: 33n.

322–3 Latium...latuisset: a characteristic piece of aetiological word-play: cf. 53–4, 346, and Apollonius 4.1717–18, where Ἀνάφη is said to have been so named because it was revealed (ἀνέφηνεν) to the Argonauts (similar exx. in Callimachus).
maluit: see also 329n.

324 perhibent 'call'. This transitive use is rare and poetical: cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 23 V[2] *est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant.* For the common intransitive use see 135.

325–6 There is a striking alliterative pattern of *p* and *d* in these two lines.

325 Cf. 7.45–6 *rex arua Latinus et urbes | ...placidas in pace regebat.* In V.'s cyclic version of Italian history there is a parallel between Saturn's reign and Latinus'.

326–7 The golden race did not have gold, or indeed any of the metallurgical processes used by Vulcan. It was the successors of the first race who used gold, and, in so doing, lost their original lustre (*decolor aetas* = 'tarnished race') and degenerated into lust for possession (*amor habendi*). The decline in moral standards was a Roman literary commonplace frequently imitated in the renaissance, e.g. Spenser, *F.Q.* 2.7.16. The present passage should be taken 'cyclically' to refer to a series of degenerations. The link between greed and violence, illustrated earlier in the *Aeneid* in the story of Polydorus (3.13–68, esp. 56–7 *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, | auri sacra fames!*) is perennially characteristic of war and especially of civil war. Binder 103–5 suggests that V. here alludes specifically to Antony. The lines recall a famous passage in Lucretius: *denique auarities et honorum caeca cupido | quae miseros homines cogunt transcendere finis | iuris...sanguine ciuili rem conflant diuitiasque | conduplicant auidi, caedem caede accumulantes*... (3.59–73).

328–9 Like 157, 478–9, 600 (see nn.) these lines allude to the complex and confused traditions of Trojan and Greek migrations to Sicily and Italy preserved in Virgil's antiquarian sources. The tradition that Odysseus came to Italy and founded the Latin race is older than the story of Aeneas. Just as Latinus is sometimes said to have been Odysseus' son by Circe (= the nymph Marica) so Auson was said (see Servius on these lines) to have been Odysseus' son by Calypso. See further Introd. 2 (iv).

The Sicani were an Iberian tribe who settled in N.W. Sicily (D.H. 1.22). Thucydides says (6.2.3) that after the fall of Troy some Trojans settled there alongside the Sicani, the two groups becoming known collectively as Elymians: cf. *Aen.* 5.293 *Teucri mixtique Sicani.* On 7.795 and 11.317, where the Sicani are also mentioned as an old Latin tribe, Servius says that they were subsequently driven out of Latium, first by the Ligures, then by the 'aborigines'. They are among the thirty peoples of Latium governed by Alba Longa listed by Pliny, *N.H.* 5.68–70, though Alföldi thinks (13) the name is there introduced in error. They may, or may not, be the same as the Sikels

or Siculi, said by D.H. to have been an aboriginal tribe who migrated to Sicily before the Trojan war. The whole tradition of the early settlements in Sicily and Italy remains obscure, and V.'s chief purpose in these passages is to emphasise the long history of invasion and settlement in Latium before the coming of Aeneas.

329 saepius...posuit 'more than once changed its name'. Saturn chose (322–3) to call the country Latium; and this name must be restored as part of Aeneas' 'Saturnian' resettlement, to take its place along with the names of Italy and Rome: so Jupiter at 12.826–7 *sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges, | sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago*.

330–2 tum reges (sc. *uenere*) **asperque...Thybris:** *-que* is epexegetic, Thybris being included among the kings, who seem like vague prefigurations of the much later Alban kings (see previous n. and App. A) invented to fill the gap between Ascanius and Romulus. Among these some traditions (e.g. Livy 1.3.8) placed the eponymous Thybris. V.'s intention is to convey the 'pre-Trojan' antiquity of local place-names; at the same time he camouflages the anachronism by letting Evander speak as though he were living at a much later time (*post Itali...diximus*). See Introd. 3 (ii) for the view that he is a *persona* of the poet. The important point is that the survey of Italy's past ends with a reference to the river Tiber, mentioned immediately before the lines in which Evander tells how he himself was led by destiny to the site of Rome: a destiny which parallels and prefigures that of Aen. himself. See also next n.

333–6 These impressive lines (for the chiastic symmetry of 334 cf. 341, 521) have an elaborately interlaced alliterative pattern of *p*s, *f*s and *m*s. In addition, 335–7 share the same metrical pattern (App. B) which is also repeated at 319–21 (describing Saturn), thus further emphasising the common role and destiny of these settlers in Latium. Evander's statement also parallels that of Aen. himself, another exile to Latium, at 131–3; Aen. was also guided by his mother, see 1.382 *matre dea monstrante uiam data fata secutus*. Moreover, Apollo, on whom the culminating emphasis of these lines falls, was the guiding deity alike of Evander, Aen. and Augustus: see Introd. 2 (iii) and cf. 704, 720–1nn. Prior to the dedication of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, by Augustus in 28 B.C., Rome's only temple to this god

stood outside the Porta Carmentalis, the very spot which the two heroes have now reached (as the next lines show). This temple was re-dedicated by Augustus on his birthday, 23 Sept. 32 B.C.

333 **pelagi...extrema** 'the furthest limits of the sea', i.e. the west, the Hesperia associated with the voyages of Hercules and Odysseus as well as of Evander and Aen.

334 **ineluctabile**: a strikingly powerful Virgilian coinage, which he also uses at 2.324 *uenit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus.*

fatum: see 731n.

337 The parataxis after the *uix*-clause gives a dramatic speed to the narrative here. The final stage of the walk – through the precincts of the city – now begins.

340–1 Carmentis or Carmenta was an ancient Roman deity who gave her name to the festival called Carmentalia (to which there may be a reference at 665–6, see n.). She was connected by Varro with childbirth. When Evander was incorporated in the legends of Rome, she became identified with his mother, the nymph Themis or Nicostrate (see Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* 21). She is thus naturally endowed with prophetic powers (her name would have been connected with *carmen*, by the kind of word-play of which the Romans were fond) and called *uates*, like the Sibyl (the word occurs 16 times in book VI). The only other occurrence of the word in VIII is at 627, referring to the prophecies on Vulcan's shield. But Virgil and Horace often used *uates* to describe the poet (V. uses it of himself at 7.41, and cf. the reference to his poem at 9.446 *si quid mea carmina possunt*). In Carmentis, 'who first sang the future greatness of the sons of Aeneas and noble Pallanteum', V. thus creates a persona of his own 'vatic' inspiration: see further J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the new poetry* (1967) 109ff.

fatidicì: on compound epithets see 446n.

341 **Pallanteum**: for the metre see 54n. On the 'etymology', or rather word-play, Palatium–Pallanteum, cf. 51–4, 441nn.

The first two landmarks inside the city are associated with Romulus (of whom Evander is a 'ktistic' prefiguration) and the pastoral beginnings of Rome: the first of a series of correspondences between the 'walk' and the shield of Aeneas, 630ff.: see further Introd. 3 (iii). By V.'s time both had been built over. The asylum belongs, like the

'rape of the Sabine women', to the legends of Romulus' early efforts to increase the city's population: see Livy 1.8, and cf. 635n., Grant 117. Like its name, the institution of the asylum was Greek: cf. n. on *rettulit* below.

The Lupercal was traditionally sanctified by Greek settlers long before its association with Romulus as 'Mars' cave' (630–4). It is here said to have been 'called after Pan Lycaeus according to Parrhasian custom'. Parrhasia was a district in W. Arcadia (the adj. is used of Evander at 11.31) which included Mount Lycaeus, birthplace of Zeus Lycaeus (cf. 352–4n.) and home of the cult of Pan Lycaeus whom the Romans naturalised as Faunus. Lycaeus comes from Greek λύκος = 'wolf'. The Luperci are depicted on Aeneas' shield: 663–6n.

342 **ingentem:** 43n. Also used of the grove at Caere where Aen. receives the shield, 597.

342–3 **quem...asylum rettulit:** cf. 5.598, where *rettulit* describes how Ascanius first introduced the *lusus Troiae* into Italy. Here, however, *rettulit* must be translated 'instituted as': *asylum* is predicative, in apposition to *lucum*, cf. Livy 1.8.5 *locum qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos* <*ad laevam*> *est asylum aperit*. Like the *lusus Troiae*, the *asylum* existed elsewhere before it was introduced to Rome; Livy calls it 'a device long employed by the founders of cities'.

345 **nec non et:** this connecting formula is not found before V., who has it 15 times (again at 461). *nec non etiam* (cf. *Georg.* 2.413) occurs in Varro, *R.R.* 1.1.6 etc., so that V. may have promoted a common periphrasis to the elevated style. For further refs. see Austin on 4.140.

sacri 'accursed' as in 3.57 *auri sacra fames*.

Argileti: for the metre see 54n. For the topography see Introd. 3 (iii). For Augustan readers the place would have had associations with Janus' temple.

346 'Bears witness to the etymology of the place'; or 'calls the place to witness his innocence of the death which occurred there'; or both simultaneously. Argus was a guest of Evander who, conspiring against his host, was killed on this spot (for the etymology, or rather word-play, *Argi* + *letum*, cf. 322–3). Argus defied the sacred bond of *hospitium* and is thus an anti-type of Hercules and Aen.

testaturque...et docet is not 'our author's usual hysteron proteron' (Henry) but is rather our author's even more usual 'theme and variation'. *-que...et* is a correlative or co-ordinate formula; *et* should be translated 'as' (cf. 605). Two actions which occur simultaneously cannot be simultaneously verbalised; hence it does not matter syntactically (though it may metrically) which way round such formulations as e.g. 'the audience laughed and applauded' or *tenditque fouetque* (1.18, see Mackail's note) are expressed. The usage is an extension of the 'epexegetic' use of *et* discussed at 38n. See also 85, 520ff., 604–5nn. and nn. on double *-que* at 94, 204.

347–8 These two lines on the Capitoline hill (for its topography see Introd. 3 (iii)) form the exact centre of the passage (337–58) describing the heroes' walk from the city gate to Evander's house: cf. 652–62n. for the corresponding passage depicting the Capitol on Aen.'s shield. The Tarpeian rock (the hill's southern peak) was the place where traitors were thrown to their death, and was supposed to have got its name from Tarpeia, who betrayed the *arx* to the Sabine king Titus Tatius in Romulus' time: for this aetiological myth see Grant 119–25.

The contrast between the Capitol's primitive wildness and its Augustan splendour, enshrined in *aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis*, is central to the structure of book VIII: cf. 99–100, 360–1nn. For *dumis* cf. 594, 657. The reference here is to the famous gold-roofed republican temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, traditionally built on the site of Tarpeia's tomb by Tarquinius (Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* 18) and restored by Augustus, who also built two other temples there, one of which may be alluded to at 353 (n.): see *R.G.* 19–20, and cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.85–6 *Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectat in orbem, | nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet*. The point of the present lines is that the god was animistically present in this sacred place long before any temple was built to him.

351–3 V. reverts to the language of pastoral in this description of the Arcadians' vision of Jupiter. Cf. 314 (*hoc nemus habitat* ~ *haec nemora tenebant*), *Ecl.* 2.60 *habitarunt di quoque siluas*. 352 is constructed like a line from the *Eclogues*, with light dactyls and the 'bucolic diaeresis' (198n.).

353–4 **cum saepe** 'shaking, as is his custom'. For the compression cf. 1.148 *ac ueluti...cum saepe coorta est | seditio*.

aegida is the shield or aegis of Homer's Zeus: cf. *Il.* 4.166 Ζεὺς ... ἐπισσείῃσιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα, 'Zeus...shaking his dread aegis'. Zeus lent the aegis to Athena, see 435n.

nimbosque cieret: another Iliadic echo, 'Zeus who gathers the clouds', Homer's νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς.

P. Grimal, *R.E.A.* 50 (1948) 348–51, sees here an allusion to the temple of Jupiter Tonans built by Augustus in 22 B.C. near to that of Jupiter Capitolinus.

356 Cf. 312n.

357 Just as Saturn preceded Jupiter as ruler of Olympus, so he preceded him on the Capitol. There was a tradition that before Saturn's arrival in Latium Janus had already established a town on the Janiculum. Saturn and Janus occur together among the national ancestor-deities whose statues stand in Latinus' temple, 7.180. According to D.H. 1.73.3, the Janiculum previously bore the name Aenea.

359–61 The heroes reach Evander's house on the Palatine (for the topography, see Introd. 3 (iii)).

359 **subibant:** cf. *subiit*, 363. The repetition links Aen.'s visit with that of his predecessor Hercules.

360–1 Again V. contrasts Rome's pastoral beginnings with her Augustan grandeur: cf. 99–100n.

362–8 Evander's second (and more celebrated) hospitable invitation to Aen. (the first having occurred at his arrival at Pallanteum, 176–8n.). Aen.'s first day at Evander's settlement ends as it began: the structure of the whole passage is another example of 'ring-composition'. The Homeric model of these lines is the hospitality of Eumaeus to Odysseus, *Od.* 14.518ff.: for the literary tradition of the 'theoxeny' see Introd. 3 (ii).

362 **sedes:** probably referring to the whole settlement on the Palatine, envisaged by V. as a collection of proto-historical cabins (Introd. 3 (iii) and cf. 463ff. n.).

inquit: on spondaic words in the fourth foot see 132n.

uictor: predicative (50, 61, 201–3nn.).

363 subiit: cf. 359. The original long vowel of the final syllable was retained or revived by Virgil and Ovid. Contrast 98n.

364–5 'Have the courage, my guest, to despise wealth and make yourself worthy of a god. Come in, do not disdain poverty.' On this celebrated sentiment Dryden observed 'I am lost in the admiration of it. I contemn the world when I think of it, and myself when I translate it.' His version is:

Dare to be poor, accept our homely food,
Which feasted him, and emulate a god.

The passage became proverbial: it is twice quoted by Seneca (*Ep. Mor.* 18.12, 31.11) and alluded to by Juvenal, 11.60–3, where the poet flatters his guest by comparing himself to Evander and the guest to the deified Hercules and Aeneas: *nam cum sis conuiua mihi promissus, habebis | Euandrum, uenies Tirynthius aut minor illo | hospes, et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum, | alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.*

For *contemnere opes* cf. Cicero, *T.D.* 5.30. Anti-types representing luxury and wealth included Dido, Antony and Cleopatra (685n.) and Sardanapalus: cf. Cicero, *T.D.* 5.101 and Juvenal 10.361–2, where he is contrasted with Hercules, the 'god' of the present passage (see next n.): *et potiores | Herculis aerumnas credat saeuosque labores | et uenere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli.* See further Introd. 3 (ii).

Evander's exhortation is addressed by Virgil to his Augustan contemporaries. A similar device is used at 6.95, when the Sibyl says *tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito* and at 6.806, when Anchises says *et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis?* In all three cases the addressee, Aen., is the Augustan *auditor* of the poem and the speaker a mouthpiece of the poet (cf. 330–2n.).

365 deo: Hercules (cf. 200–1, 301nn.), whose willingness to be Evander's guest is offered as a model of the correct behaviour of the saviour-hero.

rebus...egenis: the phrase has an appropriately archaic ring: see Norden on 6.91, where the Sibyl says to Aen. *cum tu supplex in rebus egenis | quas gentis Italum aut quae non oraueris urbes!* Her prophecy now comes true: Introd. 2 (ii), 143–5n.

366 angusti: can a poet of V.'s extraordinary sensitivity to words

have failed to intend a word-play on *Augusti* (especially in view of the topography of this passage, see Introd. 3 (iii))?

367–8 The leaves and the animal skin are not just a pastoral touch (cf. 177n.): the former recalls the Sibyl's prophetic leaves (6.74), the latter is associated with the ritual of *incubatio* performed by Latinus in book VII (*pellibus incubuit stratis...effultis tergo stratisque iacebat | uelleribus*, 88ff.).

ingentem: 43n. A similar usage is at 6.413, when Aen. steps into Charon's boat, built only for weightless shades.

locauit: echoing *locat* at 176.

pelle Libystidis ursae also occurs at 5.37 (the only recorded occurrences of the adj. *Libystis* (= *Libyca*); here it corresponds to *uillosi pelle leonis* at 177.

369 A 'time-marking' line (cf. 280) rounds off the episode and provides a link with the nocturnal interlude which follows; *nox ruit* also occurs 6.539. The personification of Night is a literary conceit (cf. 407–8n.). More striking are 6.866 *nox atra caput tristi circumuolat umbra*, where Night's wings cast the shadow of death over Marcellus; and 12.845, where the winged Furies (*Dirae*) are said to be the daughters of *Nox intempesta* (cf. Milton's 'eldest Night', *P.L.* 2.894).

370–453

This divine interlude in the human story of book VIII consists of two scenes, set on Olympus and in the Cyclopes' cave, linked by a 'bridge-passage' depicting Vulcan's descent from Olympus to the cave. In the first scene, 370–406, Venus begs arms from her husband Vulcan for her son Aen. Her role as *supplex* provides a structural parallel with the scene between Aen. and Evander, but the tone is quite different, 'ornate, almost baroque' (Williams). The model is *Iliad* 18, in which Thetis begs arms from Hephaestus for her son Achilles (see 383), but since Venus is Vulcan's wife V. has also made use of a quite different Homeric episode, the beguiling of Zeus by Hera in *Iliad* 14. There are also echoes of Lucretius' description of Venus overcoming Mars (1.31–40). See further Introd. 3 (iv).

370 **At:** used to denote a dramatic change in mood or subject: cf. 241, 608, 714, 4.1, 9.1.

haud goes with *nequiquam* 'not vainly': i.e. she had good reason for fear. Cf. nn. on *non*, 299, and *haud*, 627. *nec...nequiquam* occurs at *Georg.* 4.38, 500–1, and cf. *Georg.* 4.353 *o gemitu non frustra exterrita tanto*. Venus begins her supplication anxious and ends it calmed and reassured, like Aen. in the previous episode.

Venus...mater: enclosing word-order; cf. 28–9n.

371 **Laurentum:** gen. pl.; cf. 1n.

372 **coniugis:** because her husband had built it. Hephaestus likewise built the palaces of the Homeric gods, see *Il.* 1.606–8; so also Milton's Mammon, *P.L.* 1.732: 'his hand was known | In Heavn by many a Towred structure high'.

thalamo: a Greek word not found before Virgil.

aureo: disyllabic by synizesis.

373 A beautifully onomatopoeic line, combining assonance, alliteration and elision. *aspirat*: the verb occurs again, also preceded by elision, in the description of Venus at 2.694. Cf. the corresponding line depicting Vulcan's love, 394.

375 **debita** 'doomed'; *-que* is epexegetic, a good ex. of the figure discussed at 38n.

376–80 Venus explains that so long as Troy was doomed (her first word, *dum*, is emphatic, and is contrasted with *nunc* in 381) she did not ask Vulcan for help. The structure is formal and rhetorical, with repeated use of parallel phrases, *auxilium...arma*, *artis opisque*, *te... tuos...labores*. There seems to be no particular significance in the similar endings of 378, 380: cf. 395–400n. and Williams on 5.72.

378 **incassum:** to be taken both with *te* and *tuos labores* (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ); for *-ue* = *neque* or *nec* cf. 4.170–1 *neque enim specie famaue mouetur nec...*

379 **Priami...natis:** Servius says this is an allusion to the judgement of Paris, who had awarded Venus the prize for beauty (alluded to at 1.27). It might refer to Priam's sons collectively, as leaders of Troy: the Homeric usage as in *Il.* 1.255, 4.31, 35, where, however, the common formula is threefold – 'Priam, Priam's sons and the Trojans'. *nati* may be used loosely = 'race' or 'people', though there does not

seem to be any parallel in the *Aen.* (in 5.645 the reference is clearly to the sons of Priam in the literal sense).

381 **nunc** is emphatic: just as the fall of Troy was fated, so too is the Trojan arrival in Italy: for the argument cf. 1.238–9 where Venus comes as *supplex* to Jupiter, who tells her of the destined Trojan victory in Latium and the founding of Rome. She thus feels justified in asking for help now.

Rutulorum: it is the Rutuli, led by Turnus (cf. 1n.) who have opposed Aen.

constitit: cf. 10n.

382 **ergo** 'and so'; cf. 494.

sanctum mihi numen: the unusually harsh rhythm combined with the two elisions earlier in the line produces a 'broken' effect of supplication. Lines ending in two disyllables (or a disyllable followed by two monosyllables, which comes metrically to the same thing) are generally preceded by a monosyllable, as at 400, *haec tibi mens est*: in such lines, which occur on average in the *Aeneid* once every 100 lines, ictus and accent coincide at the beginning of the fifth foot in accordance with normal Latin hexameter practice: see Allen 165–6, 452–3n. The present type of line-ending, a sequence of three disyllables, giving a marked clash of ictus and accent in the fifth foot, occurs only twelve times in the *Aeneid*, nine of these occurrences being in the metrically 'advanced' books X and XI (Introd. 4 (i)). Page's statement, in his n. on 10.440, repeated by Williams, that no such lines occur in the first half of the poem, is incorrect (see 3.695, 5.731).

383 **rogo**...**nato**: the effect of these symmetrically balanced long *os* is perhaps to increase the 'artfulness' of Venus' rhetorical blandishments.

filia Nerei: Thetis. A good instance of the self-consciousness of secondary epic. In making Venus remind Vulcan of a famous earlier occasion on which he was similarly pleaded with, V. places his own episode alongside its Homeric model.

384 **Tithonia**...**coniunx**: Aurora, whose son Memnon was killed by Achilles at Troy, as told in the lost epic *Aethiopis*. In another lost work, Aeschylus' *Psychostasia*, Thetis and Aurora prayed side by side for their sons. V. alludes again to Memnon's arms at 1.489, 751.

385–6 The gates of the cities of Latium are closed in preparation for war. Cf. 12.584, where those who advocate surrender *urbem... reserare iubent et pandere portas*. This practical military precaution must be distinguished from the ritual of *opening* the gates of the temple of Janus at the beginning of war, described at 7.601ff.

388–90 ille...cucurrit: theme and variation again, *solitam flammam* being repeated and amplified in *notus calor* etc. The metaphor of love's fire, while highly appropriate to Vulcan, was a commonplace: cf. Lucretius 4.1087 *restingui...posse...flammam*, *Aen.* 4.23 *agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae. labefacta* ('weakened') is also a Lucretian word, e.g. 4.1114 *membra uoluptatis dum ui labefacta liquescunt*. For *labefacta per ossa cucurrit* cf. *Aen.* 12.66 *calefacta per ora cucurrit*: this type of formula, with its weak fourth-foot caesura, may go back to Ennius: see Norden on 6.54.

391–2 The cosmic simile (cf. Homer, *Il.* 16.297–300) anticipates the omen at 524–9 (see n.) and is in marked contrast to the domestic one at 407ff. below. All the words in the simile support and reinforce each other (cf. 226–7n.): *corusco* 'vibrant' can be taken equally with *lumine* and *tonitru*.

393 The syntactical ambivalence of this line is characteristic of V. *sensit laeta dolis* 'she felt (herself) happy at (the success of) her cajolery'; *formae conscia* 'aware of (the effect of) her beauty'. But *dolis* and *formae* could also be parallel datives with *conscia* (which would then go closely with *sensit*): 'she was simultaneously and happily aware of her cajolery and her beauty'.

dolis is probably suggested by Homer's description of Hera in the beguiling of Zeus as δολοφρονέουσα (*Il.* 14.329). Cf. also 4.128 *dolis risit Cytherea repertis*.

394 pater: a term applied generally to any deity, though most commonly, when it occurs alone, to Jupiter; Virgil may here be echoing Homer's use of πατήρ for Zeus in a similar context, *Il.* 14.352.

For the symmetry of this line cf. 2n.

aeterno...deuinctus amore echoes Lucretius 1.34 *aeterno deuictus uulnere amoris* (the Venus–Mars episode referred to in 370–406n.).

395–400 Vulcan's reply takes up Venus' points in order, his *tum*... *nunc* (397, 400) formally balancing her *dum*...*nunc* (374, 381). The tone of the lines (a mixture of boastfulness and mock-reproach) is as rhetorical as their structure: 'What has happened to your faith in me (i.e. in my art)? If you had shown as much anxiety then as you show now, I would have made arms then, and Troy would have stood another ten years.'

The endings *fiducia cessit*...*cura fuisset* offer correspondence by assonance and alliteration; the second *fuisset* has been held to give further point to Vulcan's rhetoric; the repetition may be a deliberate balancing of the repeated *labores*...*laborem* (376–80n.) of Venus.

uetabant: going so far as to imply that, at the time, such a postponement was feasible. For the construction cf. 2.54–6 *et si fata deum, si mens non laeua fuisset, | impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras, | Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres.*

400 For the rhythm of the line-ending see 382n.

401–4 'Now whatever help my skill can promise, whatever can be made with metal, whatever fire and my energies can accomplish (sc. will be done). Meanwhile put an end to the doubts about your power over me which your prayers imply.' Notice the thrice-repeated undertaking (for the use of tricolon cf. 441–2, 445ff.) and the highly effective anacoluthon after *ualent*: Vulcan's immediate desire is to make love; his impatience is further indicated by the breaking-off of his speech in mid-line (for other exx. of this see 443, 583).

402 The repeated *os* have a solemn effect, as befits a pledge, but there may also be a teasing, playful echo of the *os* of Venus' supplication, 383n.

electro: for the spondaic ending see 54n.

405–6 **placidum**...**soporem:** enclosing word-order (28–9n.).

407–23 A transitional or 'bridge' passage: while it is still night, Vulcan rises from Venus' bed and descends to the Cyclopes' cave to see to the forging of the arms. Unlike Homer's Hephaestus, Vulcan is no sweating, socially inferior artisan, but an artist who employs slave-labour to execute his work.

407–8 An intricate example of enclosing word-order: *noctis abactae* is contained inside *medio curriculo*, and the whole phrase inside the main sentence.

iam: the night is already half over.

abactae 'driven': the perfect participle passive was originally a verbal adj. with no temporal reference (Palmer 327). The personification of Night driving her chariot was a literary commonplace: cf. 369n. and Williams on 3.512.

408–13 Although this simile goes back to Homer (*Il.* 12.433–5, and cf. also Apollonius 3.291ff., 4.1062ff.) nothing could be more Roman than Virgil's picture of the chaste Roman matron or widow, an *uniuira* and the anti-type of Dido and Cleopatra in her devotion to home and family. The passage comes at the 'still centre' of the most Augustan book of the *Aeneid* (cf. Pöschl 170) and perhaps reflects the importance attached by Augustus to his moral and matrimonial legislation: see Suet. *Aug.* 34, *R.G.* 6.1, 8.5, and cf. G. Williams in *J.R.S.* 48 (1958) 16–29, 52 (1962) 28–46.

Both Vulcan and the *uniuira* work after only a few hours' sleep, spurred on by the needs of the coming generation: the woman's children symbolise the Romans whose history will be shown on the shield: cf. the picture of Romulus, Remus and the she-wolf, 630–4. For the rekindled hearth-fire in 410 cf. 542 and see further R. W. Cruttwell, *Virgil's mind at work* (1946) 101–2. The picture of a poor but respectable domesticity offers an analogy with Evander's house.

For the allegorical structure of this passage see further Introd. 3 (iv).

409–10 **cui...impositum** (sc. est) 'whose task it is'.

tolerare: exactly our idiom, 'to support'.

colo...tenuique Mineruа 'by her humble spindle' (hendiadys): cf. 7.805 *colo calathisue Mineruae*. For the metonymy cf. 180–1n. Minerva, the Italian goddess of arts and crafts, reappears, in less domestic guise, on Aeneas' shield (699n.), as one of the 'Capitoline triad', identified by the Romans with Pallas Athene.

412–13 Cf. the picture of the farmer's wife in *Georg.* 2.523–4 *interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati, | casta pudicitiam seruat domus*. See also 630–4n.

414 **ignipotens** is not found before Virgil. He uses it again at 423, 628, 710, 10.243, 12.90. On such compound epithets see also 446n.

nec segnior: a transitional formula to take us back to the main subject after the simile. Cf. 4.149–50 *haud segnior ibat | Aeneas*.

415 For an allegorical interpretation of Vulcan's action see Introd. 3 (iv).

416 insula erigitur: opening formula of an ecphrasis of the kind called *topothesia* or *descriptio loci*. See 597n. The island is the modern Volcano, one of the Lipari islands off the N.E. coast of Sicily. Aeolus kept the winds imprisoned there (1.34ff.). Callimachus (*Hymn* 3.46ff.) places the forge on the main island, Lipari itself. Servius says that the mythological geography symbolises fire and wind *quae apta sunt fabris*, thereby starting an allegorical tradition: see Introd. 3 (iv), E. Panofsky, *Studies in iconology* (1939, repr. 1962) 45.

Aeoliamque: the only ex. in VIII of a line ending in a polysyllable with a normal (dactylic) fifth foot. For the incidence of such endings in the *Aeneid*, see Norden 438 and Williams on 5.300. In most cases the polysyllables are words of Greek origin.

418–19 specus...et antra: cf. 241–2. The Cyclopes' cave is an anti-type of Cacus'.

Cyclopum: the Cyclopes were a race of one-eyed Sicilian giants. Their role as smiths is post-Homeric: for refs. see 424–53, 425nn.

419–21 The processes of metallurgy (an art for which Etruria was famous) are described in more detail below, 445–51. Here V.'s aim is to convey a general sound-impression. First he refers to the noise of hammering; then, apparently (*stridunt...stricturae Chalybum*), to the hissing of the lumps of hot metal when quenched in cold water (tempering); then to the roar of the furnace. For the use of *stridunt* cf. 451–2 *stridentia*, and Lucretius 6.148–9 *ut calidis candens ferrum e fornacibus olim | stridit, ubi in gelidum propere demersimus imbrem*. The earliest description of this process is in Homer, *Od.* 9.391–3: 'as when a smith plunges an axe or adze into cold water and it hisses loudly (μεγάλα ἰάχοντα) as he tempers it, and its strength is that of steel'.

The Chalybes were noted metal-workers: cf. *Georg.* 1.58, Apollon. 2.374–6, 1001ff. *stricturae* are the masses of metal obtained from the smelting-furnace, known in English as 'pigs': see Fowler 79–81, where, however, a different and, I think, less satisfactory explanation is given for *stridunt*.

423 hoc is the old form of *huc* 'to this island'; it marks the end of the topographical ecphrasis: cf. 606.

424–53 The forging. 'There is not perhaps in the whole *Aeneid* a more grand and laboured passage than the description of Vulcan's cavern in Etna, and the works that are there carried on.' So Burke, *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful*, ed. J. T. Boulton (1958) 170–1. Burke further comments on 429–32 that 'no real picture is formed; nor is the effect of the description at all less'.

The passage is based on Homer, *Il.* 18.369–477 and Callimachus, *Hymn* 3.46–69. In its turn it inspired Spenser's Cave of Mammon, *F.Q.* 2.7.36:

> One with great bellowes gathered filling aire,
> And with forst wind the fewell did inflame;
> Another did the dying bronds repaire
> With yron toungs, and sprinckled oft the same
> With liquid waves, fiers Vulcans rage to tame,
> Who maistring them, renewd his former heat;
> Some scumd the drosse that from the metall came;
> Some stird the molten owre with ladles great;
> And everyone did swincke, and everyone did sweat.

But the energy and clashing sonorities of V.'s lines are unrivalled.

424 The passage begins grandly with a massive spondaic line.

425 Brontesque Steropesque: for the double *-que* see 94n. Here the first *-que* is treated as metrically 'long', an imitation of Greek epic usage. Of the 16 instances in V. all but two (3.91, 12.363) are followed by a double consonant.

The names of the three Cyclopes are 'Thunderer', 'Lightning' and 'Fire-anvil'. The first two are from Hesiod, *Theog.* 140 (and cf. Callimachus, *Hymn* 3.68). Pyracmon is not found before V.

nudus membra should probably be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with all three Cyclopes: see 250n.

426–8 'In their hands was an unfinished thunderbolt, part already smoothed off, part still incomplete – those bolts so often hurled down from heaven by Jupiter.' An imitation of Apollonius 1.730–4 (where the scene is one of those depicted on Jason's cloak), itself a variation of the half-finished automatic tripods in the corresponding passage in Homer, *Il.* 18.372–9.

429–30 The thunderbolt was traditionally depicted as having twelve rays (*radii* = Greek ἀκτῖνες, cf. Apollonius *loc. cit.*), here divided between the four 'ingredients' of rain, cloud, fire and wind. These also form the basis of Lucretius' account of the formation of thunderbolts by the action of wind on the seeds of heat inside storm-clouds (6.219–422). Lucretius actually describes the thunderbolts as being forged in a furnace (6.274ff.).

imbris torti 'flung-down rain'. For this common meaning of *torquere* cf. 460 and 9.669–71. Some commentators, following Servius, translate the phrase 'hail' but are unable to adduce any parallel (in 9.669–71 the distinction between *imber* and *grando* is clearly made). Conington feebly argues that 'hail' must be intended since it is difficult to distinguish rain from rain-clouds, a difficulty not felt by Lucretius, 6.495ff. *nunc age, quo pacto pluuius concrescat in altis | nubibus umor et in terras demissus ut imber | decidat, expediam.*

430 **rutili**: this is the correct orthography (cf. *Georg.* 1.454). The spelling *rutuli*, given here by M, P and γ and printed by Mynors, is not elsewhere attested and is probably a confusion with Rutuli.

431–8 The noise and urgency of the scene are vividly conveyed in the effects of sound and rhythm in these lines: particularly striking is the number of repeated *q* sounds, *-que* itself occurring no less than nine times, reinforced by *sequacibus*, *quibus* (twice), *squamis*.

431–2 **metum**...**iras**: Fear and Strife are personified on the aegis of Zeus in Homer, *Il.* 5.739–40, to which V. refers again at 435ff.

433 Homer's Ares was depicted as going into battle in a horse-drawn chariot (like a Homeric hero): see e.g. *Il.* 15.119–20.

currumque rotasque uolucris 'a swift-wheeled chariot' (cf. 38, 94nn.).

434 **instabant**: the constr. w. acc. after this verb is rare, and is probably to be explained here by saying that its meaning has been extended by analogy with *miscebant*, *polibant*, etc.: 'were urgently engaged in making'. The verb, which normally takes a dat., is a favourite of V.'s (see further Conway on 1.504).

ille uiros...**excitat urbes**: an adaptation of Homer's Ἄρης λαοσσόος ('Ares rouser of hosts'), *Il.* 17.398, etc.

435 aegida: the aegis of Zeus with the picture of the Gorgon's head, worn by Pallas Athena when she entered the Trojan war on the Greek side at Hera's instigation (*Il.* 5.738ff.), and cf. *Aen.* 2.615 where she presides over the destruction of Troy. See also n. on *Mineruam* at 699. The passage is a good example of how the writer of secondary epic both depends on, and transcends, his Homeric model. The Homeric 'machinery' still dominates V.'s imagery yet has also, so to say, 'had its day': cf. 383n.

There is a typological parallel between the Gorgon's head and the snaky-haired fury Allecto, *Gorgoneis infecta uenenis*, in 7.341ff.

436 squamis...auroque: hendiadys.

438 She rolled her eyes in her severed head.

439 Theme and variation.

441 arma...uiro...uiribus: perhaps an echo of the poem's opening words. The abandoned commissions were for gods, the new and urgent one is for a hero. The alliteration and assonance in *uiro...uiribus* involve a word-play of the kind Latin writers were specially addicted to, which often sets quantity at defiance: cf. 2.494 *fit uia ui*; 4.238 *ille patris magni parere parabat* | *imperio*; Hofmann–Szantyr 709. For other exx. in VIII (including 'etymological' word-play of the Pallanteum–Palatium type) see Index.

441–2 nunc...nunc...nunc: for the rhetorical structure (tricolon with anaphora) cf. 1.751–2, 4.376–7, 5.156–7, 586–7.

443 nec plura effatus: in his desire to hurry on the work, Vulcan stops speaking in mid-hexameter: cf. 404, 583nn.

445 sortiti (sc. *sunt*)**:** for the sense-break cf. 62 (n.), 449, 451, 453.
auri...metallum: cf. *Georg.* 2.162 *aeris...metalla* ('defining' or 'appositional' genitive).

446 uulnificus: the adj. is not attested before V. (cf. *ignipotens*, 414) and occurs only here in his work, but it is probable that (like other compounds) he took it from earlier writers, as he did *fatidicus* in 340, and other *-ficus* compounds such as *horrificus* and *luctificus*. See Palmer 102–3 and Norden on 6.796, *caelifer*, not attested before V. but parallel to a range of adjs. in *-fer* used by Ennius and Lucretius.

chalybs 'iron'. Again a triadic construction – bronze, gold, iron.

447–9, 449–51 are both tricola, cf. 401–3, 441nn.

447–9 The shield consisted of seven circular plates welded one upon the other: it is all epic shields, from Ajax' (made of seven hides, ἑπταβόειον, *Il.* 7.220) to Turnus' (*septemplicis orbis*, 12.925); one is thus warned against building over-elaborate symbolisms upon conventional correspondences. The number seven had a special significance in Pythagorean numerology, cf. C. Butler, *Number symbolism* (1970) 7–8; it occurs frequently in classical literature. Other exx. in V. are the seven-coiled snake, 5.85, Eryx' boxing gloves made of seven hides, 5.404–5, and the chronology of Aen.'s wanderings, 1.755, 5.626, on which see Williams's introd. to book V, xxviiiff.

ingentem: 43n.

unum...contra tela Latinorum: anticipating 10.887 when the enemy's spears rain on the shield; in the emphatic *unum* we are required to hear a reference to the hero as well as to the shield, and not merely to Aen. but also to Augustus at Actium, where the oriental gods *contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Mineruam | tela tenent* (699–700).

orbibus orbis impediunt occurs again, in a different sense and context (the *lusus Troiae*) at 5.584–5. V. may have taken the phrase from one of his predecessors. *orbis* can mean any kind of circle (e.g. 673) but here there is a play on two specific meanings, the circular plates of the shield and the circling heavens (cf. 136–7).

The shield itself is not further described here: on the postponement see 626–728n.

449–53 Cf. 419–21, where the same processes are described. The present lines are repeated, with minor variants, from *Georg.* 4.171–5, where they form a simile comparing the labours of bees with those of the Cyclopes.

452–3 Two strikingly onomatopoeic lines. 452 is spondaic, with conflict between ictus and accent until we reach the fifth foot, where the normal correspondence (Allen 165–6, 337–8) is established. (12.720 gives the same effect.) It is as if the giant hammers, after an initial effort, have found a steady rhythm: this is maintained in the following line, 453, the peculiar metrical structure of which is produced by a 'false ending' at the fourth-foot diaeresis (*uersantque*

tenaci / forcipe massam). Here there is correspondence between ictus and accent not only in the last two feet, which is normal, but in the third and fourth feet, where V.'s usual pattern is one of conflict. For the 'false-ending' effect to occur, the third and fourth feet must be respectively a dactyl and a spondee, and the word before the fourth-foot diaeresis must satisfy (as does *tenaci* here) the normal rules which govern the prosody of line-endings in Augustan hexameters: that is, it must have two or three syllables. But lines of the type *laeuum sonat una / fatifer arcus* do not satisfy, since there is conflict, not correspondence in the third foot, and the rhythm thus yielded before the diaeresis is very rarely admitted at the end of an Augustan hexameter (see 382n.). There is another ex. of a 'false ending' at 549: again, a special onomatopoeic effect is created. 12.404 is a reworking of the present line. These are the only exx. in the *Aen.* of lines in which the word before the diaeresis is a bacchius (∪ – –): all the exx. given by Norden (433) are of the type *auriga neque audit / currus habenas* in which the word before the diaeresis is a disyllable and the 'false-ending' effect somewhat less pronounced.

These two lines provide a superb conclusion to the interlude in the cave. We are left with the steady beat of the hammers ('in numerum') sounding in our ears, as the scene changes.

454–584

The following morning. Aen. accepts the leadership in the struggle against Mezentius and Turnus. Aen.'s new armour appears in the sky. Aen. takes his leave of Evander. (For the triadic structure of this section cf. Introd. 2 (i).)

454 Lemnius: Vulcan (Hephaestus) fell on the island of Lemnos after being flung from Olympus by Zeus. See Homer, *Il.* 1.593, and Milton's imitation, *P.L.* 1.739–46.

455–6 The pastoral atmosphere and the dawn chorus are strikingly effective after the hectic activity and lurid darkness of the previous passage.

457–60 This description of the hero getting up and putting on his clothes, shoes and sword, is a Homeric formula: cf. Telemachus in *Od.* 2.1ff., Menelaus in *Od.* 4.308ff. In his heroic simplicity Evander

is perhaps an anti-type of Aen. in his finery at Dido's court (see 171, 309nn., and cf. 4.261–4, cited in Introd. 3 (ii)); *umeris...demissa* provides a verbal echo of 4.263.

457 inducitur (here used in a sense similar to that of *induitur*) should be regarded as 'middle', not passive with an acc. of respect as in 29 (n.), assuming that Evander dressed himself. Both constructions are of Greek origin: see E. A. Hahn in *T.A.P.A.* 91 (1968) 221–38.

458–9 Tyrrhena: the origin of the name of this type of sandal, which had a wooden sole and gilded straps (*uincula*) is obscure. The adj. recurs at 526 (see n.): Etruria is about to dominate the rest of book VIII (and indeed the rest of the poem) as it dominated the early history of Rome.

Tegeaeum: Arcadian.

460 demissa: predicative, 'so as to hang down'.

retorquens: 'flinging back', cf. n. on *torti*, 429–30.

461 nec non et: 345n.

custodes: with *canes* in the next line, 'guard-dogs'. Two dogs accompany Telemachus to the assembly in *Od.* 2.11. The two lines, with their 'interlacing' word-order, represent a characteristically Virgilian 'epic formula': *gemini*, *custodes*, *canes* are all subject both of *praecedunt* (theme) and *gressum...comitantur erilem* (variation).

alto must here be regarded as a conventional epithet, despite the fact that the lowliness of Evander's house has been emphasised as recently as 455. For this reason Markland corrected to *arto*, though at 541 Aeneas rises *solio...ab alto*.

462 erilem: also at 7.490. V. seems to have promoted this archaic word, found in Plautus and Terence, to the epic.

463ff Wanting a private conversation, Evander goes to find Aen., who is also already up and about (465). Fowler 77–8 argues that Aen. must be supposed to have been lodged not in Evander's own house but in another like it not far away, a guest-house: the dwellings being presumably of the proto-historical 'capanna' type (cf. 362, 654nn.), too small to have spare bedrooms. *mediis...aedibus* in 467–8 would then refer to the open space between the two dwellings.

463 sedem et secreta: hendiadys.

464 This refers to the promise made by Evander at 170–1.

465 **matutinus** is predicative, and should be taken with the transitional formula *nec minus*: 'was up and about no less early'.

469 For the incomplete line (an obvious stop-gap) see 41n.

470–519 Evander describes recent events in Etruria which require Aen. as leader and will ensure him allies.

470–2 The Aeneas of Greek tradition was as conspicuous for military prowess as for *pietas*, and it is this quality which Evander naturally stresses here. Both aspects of his character occur together at, e.g., 1.545 *nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis*, 6.403 *Troius Aeneas pietate insignis et armis*. See Galinsky 11–22.

470 **ductor:** cf. 129, 496, 513.

sospite: an archaic word taken over by V. from Ennius; also at 11.56.

471 **uictas** is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *res...aut regna*, the whole forming a kind of hendiadys: 'while you are safe I shall never admit that the state or realm of Troy is defeated'.

472 **pro nomine tanto** refers to Aen., as at 121, and is contrasted with *nobis* (sc. *sunt*): 'our military resources are meagre, your reputation is great'. Some commentators try to refer the phrase to Evander, ignoring the rhetorical structure of Evander's opening apostrophe.

473 **Tusco...amni:** the Tiber, as at 10.199.

474 **Rutulus:** the hostile tribe led by Turnus (1n.). The singular here is used collectively: cf. 10.232 *ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat.* V. anticipates Rome's struggle with the Rutuli at the time of the Tarquinii: cf. 429–31, 646–51, Livy 1.56.13–57.1.

475–6 'I am ready to ally you with mighty peoples and fortified cities rich in royal forces.' Characteristically Virgilian phrasing: a reference to the city-states of early Latium. Cf. 4.229–30 *grauidam imperiis belloque frementem | Italiam*. For *opulentus* with abl. cf. 1.447 *donis opulentum*: its only other occurrence in V.

476–7 **quam...ostentat:** literally 'a salvation which chance offers unexpectedly'. *salutem* is in apposition to the previous sentence, cf.

4.263–4 *diues quae munera Dido | fecerat*. Evander is naturally thinking of his own safety as much as of Aen.'s, but cf. the Sibyl's prophecy cited at Introd. 2 (ii).

inopina is predicative. *fors* occurs only in the nom. and abl., and nowhere else in V. with an adj., except *forte sua* 1.377: but cf. Catullus 64.169–70 *saeua fors*.

478 **haud procul hinc:** the connective formula recurs at 603 (and cf. 635).

479 **Agyllinae:** adj. from Agylla, the Greek name for the Etruscan city called by the Romans Caere, the modern Cerveteri, about thirty miles north of Rome up the coast. See Introd. 3 (iii). The tradition that the Etruscans were of Lydian origin is recorded in Herodotus 1.90; it is rejected by D.H. 1.28–30, who accepts the tradition of a Greek (Pelasgian) migration to central Italy and a Greek settlement at Caere. The city played an important role in the history of Etruscan-dominated Latium in the sixth century B.C. See Alföldi 209ff. According to Lycophron 1238ff. Aen. came to Etruria by land and thence to Latium via Caere. In sending him there to seek allies (and to receive the shield) V. perhaps refers to this tradition.

481 **deinde:** for the postponement, which has a dramatic or climactic effect, cf. 4.561 *nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis*. It is unusual for V. to place the word at the beginning of a sentence (see 66n.); normally he puts it in second or third place. His favourite metrical position for the word, however, is in the fifth foot, as here: cf. 5.296, 303, 321, 323; in all these lines it occurs in the fifth foot but in only one of them, 303, is this metrical placing combined with a grammatical postponement beyond the third place in the sentence.

482 **Mezentius:** see 7n.

483 **quid memorem:** also at 6.601, and cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 341 V[2] *quid ego haec memorem*. This is the rhetorical figure known as paralipsis, in which the speaker emphasises something by affecting to pass it over without notice.

485 **quin etiam:** a connective formula of varying intensive force: always at the beginning of a sentence in V. except here and at 2.768.

487 tormenti genus 'by way of torture'; an elliptical phrase, the accusative being in apposition to the previous sentence, on which it comments.

489 infanda furentem 'unspeakably crazy': cf. 248n.

490 circumsistunt: for the placing of a long compound verb formed with *circum-* across the main caesura cf. 9.416.

492–3 There is a historical parallel here. The exiled Mezentius is aided by Turnus as the exiled Tarquinius is later aided by Porsenna: see 646–51n.

493 The infinitives are 'historic'. *defendier* = *defendi*: the archaic form revived by the Augustan poets.

495 praesenti Marte: for the metonymy see 181, 409nn. Mars in V. commonly means simply 'war' (cf. 561, 557, 676); there is virtually no trace of Homer's anthropomorphic Ares. 433 and 700 constitute exceptional cases: in both, V. is specifically referring to the Homeric war-god.

497 The Etruscan chiefs sail with Aen. from Caere to the mouth of the Tiber at 10.165.

499–501 An elaborate alliterative pattern: *m, d, u, f, u, u, u, f, d, m, m.*

499 fata: see 731n.

Maeoniae: Maeonia was part of Lydia: it is here used for Etruria, since the Etruscans were supposed to have come from Lydia (479n.).

500 flos ueterum uirtusque uirum: a strikingly alliterative expression which Servius says is from Ennius.

503 externos optate duces: see 134ff. n. The legend that the saviour(s) of Italy must come from across the sea is cited by Latinus, 7.270ff. It provides V. with a typological link between Hercules, Aen. and Augustus: the last-named 'returned' to Rome in triumph in August 29 B.C. after spending the two years since Actium in the East.

For *dux* or *ductor* as a title of Augustus see 129n., and cf. Horace, *C.* 1.2.52, Propertius 2.16.19–20, Syme 291ff. Evander uses the title of Aen. at 470, 513.

tum is elided in the *Aen.* only here and at 7.616; there, however, it is accompanied by a second monosyllable. Cf. 39, 557nn.; Soubiran 405–18.

505–6 ipse...Tarchon: for the enclosing word-order see 28–9n.

505 oratores 'ambassadors', as at 7.152: cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 207 V² *orator sine pace redit regique refert rem.*

506 Tarchon: this Etruscan king, the mythical founder of V.'s birthplace, Mantua, agrees to an alliance with Aen. at 10.146–54: for V. he is evidently the friendly counterpart of the 'bad Etruscan' Mezentius (Galinsky 142, Grant 74). V. follows a tradition preserved in Lycophron, 1236ff., where Aen. becomes the ally of Tarchon and Tyrsenos (= Tyrrhenus, 'Etruscan', sons of the Mysian hero Telephus (himself, significantly, a son of Hercules), and hence part of the legend that the Etruscans came from Asia Minor. In one version of this legend Aen. married a daughter of Telephus; in another, a daughter of Tyrrhenus. The latter name, formulaically linked with Tarchon in Lycophron, is clearly an eponym for the Etruscan nation, and is so treated by V. at 603 (see n.). Tarchon (Ταρχνα, Tarchun) is the Etruscan name Latinised as Tarquinius.

507 succedam...capessam 'asking me to take over'. The subjunctives are oblique jussives.

508–9 A highly effective rhythmical repetition. Both lines have the same metrical and caesural pattern (App. B), both have an elided *-que* at the same place in the line. For the sentiment cf. 5.395–6 *sed enim gelidus tardante senecta | sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore uires.*

510 exhortarer 'I would now have been exhorting my son, not you, were it not that...'

Sabella: Evander's marriage to a Sabine prefigures the Romulean dynastic coup known as the 'rape of the Sabine women': see 342–3, 635nn.

511–13 'But you, on whose age and descent fate smiles...' The dynastic arguments put forward by Evander are an acknowledgement of Aen.'s genealogical observations at 134ff., which Evander did not then answer, being busy with the Hercules rite. Now, he solemnly

salutes Aen. by his new title, itself a repetition and amplification of the *maxime Teucrorum ductor* with which his speech began: an ex. of 'ring-composition'. Aen. is the leader of both Trojans and Italians: the unity towards which the poèm, and history, move, is here adumbrated. The mixture of races, immigrant and indigenous, which will produce the Romans (already exemplified in Evander's own marriage and shortly to be repeated in Aen.'s) is foretold in Jupiter's final speech, 12.830ff., in which he says that the name of Troy and Trojan will disappear once the Trojan stock is mixed with that of Italy: *commixti corpore tantum | subsident Teucri...hinc genus, Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget.*

512 poscunt: cf. 477, 533, 540.

514ff Evander entrusts his son Pallas to Aen. The models are *Od.* 3.475ff., where Nestor entrusts his son Peisistratus to accompany Telemachus to Sparta, and Apollonius 2.802, where Lycus sends his son Dascylus to accompany Jason. But V. transforms a traditional gesture of heroic courtesy into an expression of the old Roman educational ideals (*sub te...magistro*) as well as an act full of tragic irony, since it will end with Pallas' death. The emphasis given to the example of Aen.'s deeds (*tua cernere facta*) places him in typological analogy with Hercules (287–8). Cf. 12.435ff. *disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem...* See also Galinsky 137.

514 spes et solacia nostri: cf. 581.

516 graue Martis opus: a translation of Homer's μέγα ἔργον Ἄρηος, *Il.* 11.734.

518–19 robora pubis lecta: the archaic-sounding phrase is an echo of Catullus 64.4, describing the Argonauts as *lecti iuuenes, Argiuae robora pubis.*

519 suo nomine 'on his own account'.

520–40 The vision of the arms.

520ff Vix...-que...-que...ni: for the paratactic sequence cf. 3.8–10 and Williams's note. The *ni*-clause is the equivalent of an inverted *cum*-clause: though syntactically subordinate it in fact forms the climax of a series of simultaneous events. 'No sooner had he

stopped speaking – Aen. and Achates stood silent – brooding sadly (and would have gone on brooding), had not Venus...' See also 85, 346nn.; Hofmann–Szantyr 481.

For the archaic formula *uix ea fatus erat* cf. 2.692, 6.190: all three passages describe the sudden appearance of an omen. For the sequence *putabant...ni...dedisset* cf. 6.358 *iam tuta tenebam* | *ni... inuasisset*: 'I was already safe (and would have gone on being safe) had not...'

521–2 Servius says that Aen. is sad because of the inequality of the coming contest (*breuitatem auxilii*). Fowler 86–91 explains the sadness by reference to the father–son relationship: Aen., meditating on Evander's last words, has an intuition of Pallas' death, hence the use of the patronymic Anchisiades is specially appropriate. Similarly effective is the use of the word at 10.822, where Aen. feels pity for Lausus and admiration for his vain attempt to save his father Mezentius.

522 **tristi cum corde:** an archaic formula, also at 6.185; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 482 V². *putabant* 'turned over in their minds', an old usage taken by V. from Plautus and Terence: see Cordier 57, Norden on 6.332.

523 **Cytherea:** Venus (from the Homeric name for Aphrodite, after the island of Cythera where she was worshipped). Milton refers to Aeneas as 'Cytherea's son': *P.L.* 9.19.

caelo...aperto: cf. 528 *caeli in regione serena*; see also following n.

524–9 Thunder is a clear sky was a common feature of celestial omens: cf. 7.141ff., 9.630ff., Ennius, *Ann.* 527 V² *tum tonuit laeuum bene tempestate serena*. The repeated dactyls in this passage have a strongly onomatopoeic effect, especially in 525, where sound and sense rush on, the only 'felt' caesura being in the second foot, and in 527, with its crashing repetition of *iterum*.

525 **ruere omnia uisa repente** (sc. *sunt*): cf. 3.90 *tremere omnia uisa repente*.

526 **Tyrrhenus...clangor:** the enclosing word-order (28–9n.) is secured by writing *Tyrrhenus* for *Tyrrhenae*: the figure called enallage, taken over into Latin epic by Ennius and Lucretius: see Norden on 6.2.

Tyrrhenus: cf. 458–9. The war-trumpet (cf. 2n.) was supposed to have been invented by the Etruscans, but the use of the word here is more than a conventional epithet: Etruria now dominates the poem, it is there that Aen. must now pursue his destiny.

tubae...clangor: also at 2.313.

528–9 There is a single cloud in an otherwise cloudless sky (cf. 7.142–3) on which, as on a cushion, the arms appear.

uident must be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both *rutilare* and *tonare*. *uidere* was the proper word for the apprehension of prodigies, whether visual or aural: cf. 4.490–1 *mugire uidebis | sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos*, Propertius 2.16.49 *uidistis toto sonitus percurrere caelo*.

531 promissa: the promise is again alluded to at 534, but has not previously been mentioned.

532 profecto: an adverb repeating and strengthening the sense of *uero*. V. nowhere else uses the word, but it occurs several times at the end of a line in Lucretius, e.g. 1.241, 3.1013, 5.421. There are many exx. in the *Aeneid* of lines ending with adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions; these colourless or 'indifferent' words sometimes carry an unusual amount of emotional emphasis (cf. 271–2, 568–9), sometimes virtually none. This licence becomes more frequent in later books of the *Aeneid* (e.g. 11.816 *inter*, 12.355 *atque*) in which V.'s versification becomes markedly freer and more experimental: see Introd. 4 (i).

When the last word of a line is an 'indifferent' word, the meaning is usually carried over to the next line: see Austin on 2.18 and G. B. Townend, 'Punctuation in the Latin hexameter', *C.Q.* N.S. 19 (1969) 330–4. We tend to forget that Latin poetry was composed for the ear and not the eye.

533 ego poscor Olympo 'It is I who am called by heaven.' For *poscere* cf. 477, 512, 614. In some texts the full-stop is placed before, instead of after, *Olympo*: but *Olympo* is not needed with the following line, clearly intended to stand grandly by itself, while *ego poscor* is abrupt both in sense and rhythm.

534 The placing of the heavy molossus *missuram* after the third-foot caesura gives this line a solemn weight and emphasis.

cecinit 'has prophesied': cf. 49, 340.

missuram: sc. *se*.

536 auxilio: cf. 472. The dialogue between the two heroes comes full circle in the now-familiar 'ring-composition' or returning symmetry. The divine *auxilium* parallels and transcends Evander's.

On the incomplete line see 43n.

537–40 Cf. Latinus' forebodings at 7.594–7, which include a prophetic apostrophe closely parallel to that in the present passage: *te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit | supplicium.*

537 instant: cf. 434n.

538–9 sub undas...uolues: almost identical with 1.100–1 where the words occur in Aen.'s first speech in reference to the Homeric Simois. At 6.83ff. (Introd. 2 (ii)) the Sibyl prophesied that the Trojan war would be fought again beside the Tiber.

540 poscant...rumpant: there is a kind of ellipse here: 'so let them [i.e. the Laurentes under Turnus] have their war; I am ready for it and I shall win it'. For *poscant* cf. 533, 614.

The breaking of a treaty was a grave crime in Roman eyes: see also 639–45n. Latinus offered Aen. a treaty at 7.263ff. This is solemnised at 12.190ff. (Italy's first 'Roman' treaty) but then broken again (12.313ff., 582, 632ff.).

541 alto: 461n.

542–5 For the act of sacrifice after a supernatural manifestation cf. 68–85, and 5.743ff. *haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis | Pergameumque larem.* For the significance of the present passage cf. 408–13n. and Introd. 3 (iv). It is clear that the 'Herculean fires on the slumbering altars' is not primarily a reference to the Ara Maxima Herculis, scene of yesterday's sacrifice, since that was by the river. It is equally clear that V. will expect the reader to remember that sacrifice, and that Aen. remembers it too, as he performs his ritual thank-offering on behalf of the continuity of civilisation on Evander's *arx*, itself 'Herculean' since the visit referred to at 364–5. According to D.H. 1.43, Hercules was said to have been Pallas' father by a daughter of Evander: see Fowler 93–5.

544 mactat lectas de more bidentis: cf. Latinus' sacrifice, 7.93 *mactabat rite bidentis.* For *de more* see 186n. The phrase must here be

taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both *mactat* and *lectas*, since both the selection and the sacrifice of the animals were properly carried out.

546 Cf. 6.899 *ille uiam secat ad nauis sociosque reuisit.*

549–50 Two lines of unusual metrical pattern. 549 has a strong caesura in the second foot, a weak one in the third, and a 'false ending' at the fourth, exactly like 453, on which see n. 550 has no caesura until the fourth foot.

549 **secundo defluit amni** is echoed from *Georg.* 3.447: the effect is onomatopoeic.

552 **exsortem** (sc. *equum*): a specially selected animal. Cf. 7.276ff. where Latinus provides horses for the Trojans and a special conveyance for Aen.

552–3 The lion's skin was associated with Hercules, see 177n.

554 **Fama** 'Rumour' (not 'fame' as at 731). The acc. and inf. constr. describes what Rumour says: cf. 600, 3.121–3, 4.191–4, 11.142–3.

556–7 **propius...timor** 'fear increases as the danger (of war) grows nearer'. *Martis...imago* 'the spectre of war looms larger': for the constr. cf. 12.560 *continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago.*

iam: elision of this monosyllable occurs 24 times in V.: Norden 475ff., Soubiran 405–18.

apparet imago: V. may have remembered the cadence from Lucretius 4.156.

558 **euntis**: sc. Pallas.

559 **inexpletus lacrimans** 'incessantly weeping'. For the double adj. cf. 299n.

560ff The aged hero expresses reminiscent longings for his vanished youth: cf. the words of Entellus at 5.394–400. The Homeric model is Nestor, *Il.* 7.132–58, 11.670ff. But Evander's desire to be young again springs wholly from paternal love, the strongest single emotion in the *Aeneid*, so that the passage has an intensity which is characteristically Virgilian, and wholly different in tone from the Homeric hero's simple personal regret for lost powers.

560 si with the present subj. expresses a wish that something should happen now. Cf. 6.187–8 *si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus | ostendat nemore in tanto!* In such constructions an ellipse is involved: see nn. on 561, 568–71.

561 qualis eram 'the man I was', as in Horace, *C.* 4.1.3 *non sum qualis eram bonae | sub regno Cinarae.* Here we must understand 'so that I might be'.

Praeneste: the modern Palestrina, a city of importance during the period of Etruscan domination in Latium, is twenty-three miles from Rome. The name is usually a neuter noun (so at 7.682), here feminine.

562 The ritual destruction by fire of shields captured from the enemy was supposed to have been introduced by Tarquinius Priscus after a victory over the Sabines: Livy 1.37.

563 Erulum: this mythical king, not elsewhere attested (given by Lewis and Short under the spelling Herilus) and endowed with three lives, recalls the triple-bodied Geryon slain by Hercules (see 202). So Nestor recalled (*Il.* 11.672) his slaying of Itymoneus, who is not mentioned elsewhere.

564 Feronia: a Sabine deity mentioned again at 7.800 and in Livy 1.30.5. These local names give an anachronistic yet wholly relevant 'authenticity' to Evander's reminiscences: a good example of V.'s 'imaginative telescoping of the centuries', as Cruttwell called it.

568–71 These lines must be construed as the delayed apodosis to the ellipse in 560. 'If only Jupiter would give me back my lost youth (so that I might be the man I was when I killed Erulus) I should not now be torn from your embrace, nor would Mezentius have brought so many to death...' *diuellerer* thus follows something like *si forem iuuenis*: cf. 10.613–14 *si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quamque esse decebat, | uis in amore foret, non hoc mihi namque negares...* For the imperf. subj. followed by the pluperf. subj. in apodosis cf. 4.340ff. *me si fata meis paterentur ducere uitam | auspiciis...urbem Troianam... | colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent, | et recidiua manu posuissem Pergama uictis.* The imperf. describes what would be different now if the condition were realised, the pluperf. what would have been different in the past.

568 usquam 'on any account': cf. 532 *profecto* and n. The word is emotively reinforced by *umquam* at the end of the next line: Evander's speech moves towards its peroration.

572–83 Evander's prayer forms a moving conclusion to his farewell to Aen. and to his son. V. heightens the emotional intensity of this passage by the use of repeated metrical patterns (App. B) and a continuous alliterative pattern of *us* and *ps*. The tragic intuition of Pallas' coming death is recalled in Evander's great speech over his son's body, 11.152ff.

573 Arcadii: with *regis*.

574–7 The main sentence is *uitam oro*, which is evident from Mynors's punctuation but obscured in Conington's and Hirtzel's.

574 et patrias audite preces: cf. 4.612 *et nostras audite preces* (Dido).

numina: see 78n.

575 fata: see 731n.

576 eum: see 33n.

577 quemuis durare laborem: cf. Lucretius 1.141 *quemuis efferre laborem*. V. has *perferre laborem* at 5.617, 769.

580–1 dum...dum...dum: tricolon with anaphora, giving an intensely felt climax.

581 mea sola et sera uoluptas: *sola uoluptas* occurs also at 3.660, referring to Polyphemus' sheep. Cf. also 514 *spes et solacia nostri*.

582–3 grauior...uulneret: the ill-tidings half-foreseen here reach Evander at 11.139ff. The breaking-off of the speech after the first foot of the hexameter is highly effective. Other speeches which end in mid-line are at 404, 433 (nn.). Cf. also Anchises' last words on the doomed Marcellus, 6.866, Latinus' before relinquishing his hegemony, 7.599, and Camilla's dying words, 11.827.

584 famuli conlapsum...ferebant: cf. 4.391–2, where Dido collapses and is carried indoors by *famulae*.

585–625

Aeneas rides out to Caere, where he receives the new set of arms from Venus.

585–8 There is a similar description (also immediately followed by a simile) of the enemy forces riding forth at 9.25–8 *iamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis | diues equum, diues pictai uestis et auri; | Messapus primas acies, postrema coercent | Tyrrhidae iuuenes, medio dux agmine Turnus.*

585 Iamque adeo 'and even now', marking a transition to a new and final stage in the narrative: see Austin on 2.567, and cf. 5.268, 864. *adeo* is an intensive particle (= Gk δή): so *nunc adeo*, 11.314.

587 I have printed a comma after *proceres*. Mynors's semi-colon seems a bad case of modern over-punctuation, apparently intended to prepare the way for an unnecessary emendation in the next line, but what grounds can there be for supposing that a major pause would have been felt here?

588 in medio: so the MSS. Mynors reads *it*, following Markland, who cites Statius, *Silu.* 5.1.245, where, however, a verb is needed. Here the sense of *exierat* may be carried through to 588, especially with light punctuation in 587. Nor is the presence of *in* twice in the same line a matter for suspicion: cf. 10.323.

589–91 This beautiful simile gains its poignant effect from the fact that, though Pallas now rides forth in the morning, in his youthful splendour, he is nevertheless doomed. Milton adapts the simile in *Lycidas* (168–71) into a triumphant image of Christian resurrection: 'So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed, | And yet anon repairs his drooping head, | And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore | Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.' Lucifer is the planet Venus which appears both at evening and at dawn: although Virgil's comparison is with Pallas, Venus watches over the convoy because it contains her own beloved son Aeneas, to whom she appears at 608–15. According to Varro, quoted by Servius on 2.801, the star of Venus was visible to Aen. from the time he left Troy until he reached Latium. See also 680–1n. and for a discussion of the morning star as a symbol of Venus' protection see Wlosok 80–1.

592–6 A vivid picture – the horsemen riding out, the silent women watching from the citadel, the cloud of dust (cf. 9.33), the gleaming bronze (see following n.), the rough terrain.

593 fulgentis aere cateruas: cf. 92–3. The visual detail links the Trojans' departure with their arrival, another good instance of 'ring-composition' or returning symmetry.

594 olli: see 94n.

dumos: cf. 347–8, 657nn.

meta uiarum: again at 3.714, to refer to journey's end, a metaphor from the race-course. They take the shortest route to their destination, even though this takes them over rough ground.

596 A famous example of onomatopoeia (the effect begins at *it clamor* in 595), produced by a run of dactyls, interlaced alliteration (*q*, *p*, *p*, *q*) and repeated vowels (*a*, *u*). The line recurs, with the change of *cursu* for *sonitu*, at 11.875. Virgil has developed an Ennian phrase, *summo sonitu quatit ungula terram* (*Ann.* 224, 277, 439 V²).

597 est...lucus: opening formula for an ecphrasis or set-piece of the kind known as *topothesia*, description of place. The 'est' opening (= 'there is') is normal, e.g. Ennius, *Ann.* 23 V² *est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant*: for a variation see above, 416n. This figure is first found in Homer (e.g. the gardens of Alcinous in *Od.* 7.112ff., the uninhabited island which lies across the bay from the Cyclopes in *Od.* 9.116ff.). Other exx. in the *Aen.* are at 1.159ff., 4.480ff., 7.563ff., 11.522ff. See Williams, *TORP* 637ff. The figure also occurs in English, e.g. *Hamlet* 4.7.167 'There is a willow grows aslant a brook, | That shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream; | There with fantastic garlands did she come...'

ingens: cf. 342 and 43n.

Caeritis: see 479n. and Introd. 3 (iii).

598 religione...sacer: cf. the description of Latinus' citadel 7.172 *horrendum siluis et religione parentum.*

600 Siluano: Silvanus was an ancient Italian deity associated with the woods outside settlements (Bailey 37–8). He does not occur elsewhere in the *Aen.*, but is depicted, in a conventionally 'Arcadian' setting, with Pan, *Ecl.* 10.24–5, and cf. *Georg.* 2.494.

Pelasgos: see 479n.: the early Greek settlers in Etruria. Just as Aen. had to seek his salvation from a Greek city (Pallanteum, see 54n.), so now it is in another city of Greek origin that he is to receive evidence of Rome's historic destiny.

601 lucumque diemque: for the formula cf. 94n. An analogy may be intended with the 'grove and day' sacred to Hercules at Rome, cf. 269, 271. Both cities have an ancient tradition of religious observance: *iam tum religio...* (cf. 349n.).

603–5 A characteristic 'theme and two variations' arranged paratactically.

603 haud procul hinc: repeated from 478. The verbal echo emphasises that this is the very place of which Evander spoke.

Tarcho et Tyrrheni 'Tarchon and his Etruscans': see 506n. Elsewhere V. always uses the Greek form of the name, but here Tarcho is guaranteed by the metre.

605 tendebat 'were encamped': also at 2.29; a military technical term, like *legio*. V. writes about Italy's legendary heroic past in terms of Roman usage. Cf. 2n.

606 huc: the formal signal that the ecphrasis is finished, cf. 423.

608–9 Venus presents the arms to Aen. Cf. the corresponding presentation to Achilles by Thetis in Homer, *Il.* 18.616–17, 19.3.

609 in ualle reducta: the same phrase describes the Elysian fields, 6.703. On the correspondence see further Introd. 2 (iii).

610 ut 'when', 'as soon as': as at 1, but here postponed (cf. 12.869 *at procul ut*), a minor affectation, more common with *nec*, *nam*, etc., introduced into Latin poetry by the neoterics in imitation of Alexandrian usage.

procul: with *uidit*, as at 98–9, 'in the distance'.

secretum 'by himself', i.e. apart from the others; cf. 670.

flumine: local abl., repeating the sense of *in ualle reducta*.

611 -que 'as', cf. 85, 346, 520nn.

se obtulit: again of Venus, 2.589–90.

ultro 'actually'. V. emphasises that this is an epiphany, like the more famous one at 2.589ff.

613–14 Venus echoes, and confirms, Aen.'s words of confidence at 537–40; his words were prompted by the vision of the arms, hers point triumphantly to the reality.

613 mox 'when the time comes'.

614 poscere: cf. 540.

616 This splendidly symmetrical line invests the appearance of the arms with an appropriate grandeur. *quercu*: the literary source of this detail is Apollonius 4.123ff., where the golden fleece is found on an oak: cf. 617, 622–3nn.; but Camps (102–3) is surely right in seeing an allusion to the oak-wreath awarded to Augustus along with the golden shield *ob ciues seruatos* (188–9n.).

617 laetus: cf. *gaudet* 731, *miratur* 619, 730. Again the dominant theme of joy and wonder: cf. 310–11n. The expression is based on Homer, *Il.* 19.18: 'he (Achilles) rejoiced to hold in his hand the god's glorious gift' (cf. 729–31n.); Jason similarly delights in the golden fleece (see previous n.).

618 expleri nequit: cf. 265.

620–5 Cf. *Il.* 18.609–13, [Hes.] *Shield of Heracles* 122–38, which provided V. with another link between Aen. and Hercules. The repeated accusatives in 620–2, including the rhyming sequence *uomentem...rigentem...ingentem*, convey a sense of heroic power and grandeur.

620 flammas...uomentem: see 680–1n. The detail helps to link Aen. with Augustus.

621 fatiferum is not found before Virgil.

622–3 The simile is modelled on Apollonius 4.125, describing how Jason found the golden fleece: cf. 616, 617nn. For another simile, also depicting the effect of light, modelled by V. on Apollonius, see 22–5.

623 radiis: echoing *radiantia* in 616.

624 electro auroque: cf. *Sh. Her.* 142.

625 enarrabile: a strikingly effective Virgilian coinage. It is the 'indescribable workmanship of the shield' which will form the subject of the poet's ecphrasis.

626–728

The description of the shield. The model is Homer's Shield of Achilles, *Il.* 18.483–608. This form of ecphrasis, in which the poet turns aside from his narrative to describe at length some work of visual art, was introduced into Latin poetry by the neoterics, in immediate imitation of Hellenistic poetry: see Fordyce on Catullus, *C.* 64. Other descriptions of works of art in the *Aeneid* are the scenes of the Trojan war carved in Juno's temple at Carthage, 1.456–93, and the story of the Minotaur engraved by Daedalus on the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae, 6.20–30: both of these we see, as we see the shield, through the eyes of Aeneas himself. It is for this reason that V. has postponed the description of the shield, which in Homer is given when the shield is actually fashioned by Hephaestus, until the moment of its presentation to the hero.

The scenes shown on Achilles' shield have no special connection with him. They constitute a point of rest in the narrative, a decorative and mainly peaceful contrast before the final conflict, functioning in a manner analogous to that of the *Iliad*'s pastoral similes. But the scenes on Aeneas' shield are in no sense digressive from the poem's theme, the origins of Rome and Augustus; indeed, nowhere else in the poem is this theme more clearly stated. The scenes from the 'future' offer typological analogies, albeit imperfectly understood by Aeneas himself, with his own struggles and also with the story of Hercules and Cacus, the earliest example of Rome's delivery from peril by the heroic prowess of one man. The shield thus provides a summing-up both of book VIII and of the whole poem. The scenes depicted on it are (1) tales and legends of early Rome, from Romulus to the republic; (2) the battle of Actium; (3) the triple triumph of Augustus. For the triadic structure cf. Introd. 2 (i). An elaborate chiastic arrangement is elicited by Wlosok 128–38. The ecphrasis is closely linked with the prophetic *Heldenschau* at the end of book VI, in which Aeneas sees a vision of his descendants; both passages begin with a four-line introduction summarising what we and Aeneas are about to see (6.756–9 ~ 8.626–9: see further Introd. 2 (iii)). There are also important correspondences between the locations of events on the shield and the sites inspected on the walk round the site of Rome earlier in book VIII (Introd. 3 (iii)). Aeneas has thus already

seen the places in which the great moments of Roman history will be enacted, including Actium which he visited in book III.

Vulcan the divine artificer with vatic insight stands as a figure of the poet himself. V. had already used a work of visual art as a metaphor for poetry in the prologue to *Georgics* III where a projected national epic (evidently not the *Aeneid*) is described as a temple on whose doors battles and triumphs will be carved in gold and ivory, with Augustus in the centre (*in medio mihi Caesar erit*) as he is also in the centre of the shield: 678–81, depicting Augustus at Actium, also forms the numerological centre of the ecphrasis (48 lines + 4 + 47). In the prologue to *Georgics* III V. uses words such as *faciam, addam,* to indicate the role of the poet as artificer: similar words occur throughout the description of the shield.

It might be possible to reconstruct an actual shield from V.'s description (Flaxman's reconstruction of Homer's shield is reproduced in Myres, *Homer and his critics*, pl. 2*b*); but Aeneas' shield, unlike Achilles', is not a necessary and practical weapon but a symbolic object. This symbolism is fully felt in the last line of VIII, when Aeneas puts on the shield and the poet says that 'he lifted on to his shoulders the fame and fortune of his descendants'. The ecphrasis is arranged as a chronological sequence: such a 'linear' arrangement could not be maintained on a shield, for the viewer's eye would naturally travel first to the centre. Only on a frieze, like the Bayeux tapestry, can the viewer's experience be controlled as the poet controls the reader's. The meaning of *in ordine* at 629 is ambiguous: Vulcan presumably put the history of the Roman people on to the shield in chronological order, carving the most recent, Augustan scenes last, reserving them for the centre of the shield as V. reserved them for the rhetorical climax of a literary narrative. But *in ordine* must also convey a sense of the unfolding of history, like the events of the Trojan war depicted in Juno's temple which the poet describes, and Aeneas sees, *ex ordine* (1.546), or the prophecy of Rome's future greatness which Jupiter gives to Venus at 1.261–96, when he unrolls the book of fate.

V.'s technique is much more sophisticated than that of Catullus in his description of the bedspread of Peleus and Thetis which depicted the story of Ariadne (64.50–267). Catullus makes no pretence of describing a visual artefact but writes undisguised literary narrative.

V., by exploiting the visual as well as the exemplary possibilities of his chosen scenes, by the use of locative phrases (*haud procul hinc*, *in medio*) and verbs like *addiderat*, *aspiceres*, maintains the illusion of a visual artefact while at the same time undercutting the illusion by drawing the reader's imagination away from the representation of events towards the events themselves (a device exploited by Keats in the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*).

For further references and discussion see Otis 39n., L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (1969) 165–72, Heinze 398–401, Norden, *VLZ* 405–7, C. Becker, 'Der Schild des Aeneas', *Wiener Studien* 77 (1964) 111–27.

627 -que: disjunctive, as at 88: 'not ignorant of the prophets or unaware of the future'. For *haud* cf. 299, 370. For *uatum* see 340n.: Vulcan as artificer here confirms the future by giving it tangible and permanent form. 'Vatic' insight is not a gift normally bestowed on mortals: cf. 730 and 10.501 *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae.*

629 stirpis ab Ascanio: V. uses two different genealogical traditions about the origin of the Romans: a purely Trojan one, here and in Jupiter's prophecy, 1.267ff., in which Romulus was descended on his mother's side from Ascanius through the Alban kings (see also App. A); and a mixed Italo-Trojan one, in Anchises' prophecy, 6.760ff., in which Romulus was descended from Silvius, son of Aen. and Lavinia. See further Norden, *VLZ* 389–96.

in ordine 'in sequence', like *ex ordine*, 1.456, which introduces a similar description; see general note above.

630–41 The tales and legends of early Rome begin with three scenes depicting Romulus, the city's founder and first king. *Scene 1* (630–4) shows Romulus and Remus with the wolf: cf. Livy 1.4. The twins were said to have been the children, by the god Mars, of Ilia, or Rhea Silvia, daughter of the last Alban king Numitor (App. A). In this first scene V. thus links the ecphrasis of the shield with Jupiter's prophecy and the Elysian *Heldenschau*, in both of which Romulus figures (1.273–7, 6.777–80).

Roman history begins, like Roman topography, in pastoral simplicity: the cave is identified both by V. and by D.H. 1.79 (Livy does not mention it) with the Lupercal, the first landmark inside the

old city, pointed out to Aen. by Evander, 342–3: this is the first of a series of correspondences between the walk round the site of Rome and the shield. There is a further parallel between the wolf which has just whelped (*fetam*) and the portent of the sow (cf. 631 *ubera circum*, and 45 *circum ubera*): both animals figure in foundation-myths.

There are some verbal parallels between V.'s description and Livy's (Ogilvie 46–8): there may be a common source, cf. Servius, *sane totus hic locus Ennianus est*, a comment which must be borne in mind when considering the phrase *tereti ceruice reflexa* (633n.).

The story of children exposed and suckled by an animal is a popular and widespread myth, e.g. the story of Neleus and Pelias, treated in two lost plays of Sophocles (Grant 103). Royal babies abandoned in a pastoral setting became a stock feature of renaissance dynastic romance, e.g. Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. The subsequent killing of one brother by another has affinities with another Greek myth, that of Eteocles and Polynices.

630 **fecerat:** repeated from 628, linking the general introduction with the actual representations. *et* adds rhetorical emphasis, as at 161: 'yes, and he had portrayed...'. Cf. also 91–2n.

uiridi: cf. 83, where the sow appears *uiridi in litore*.

631 **procubuisse:** acc. and inf. after *fecerat*: 'he had portrayed her as having ...'.

633 **impauidos:** as befits the founders of the Roman nation.

tereti ceruice reflexa: cf. Cicero, *Carm. Ar.* 58 *tereti ceruice reflexum*, itself probably a reminiscence of Lucretius 1.35 *tereti ceruice reposta*. The latter passage depicts Venus with Mars (Introd. 3 (iv)) and shares with the present lines a further verbal correspondence, *pendentis* ~ *pendet*. Could V. perhaps have thought of the wolf's fostering as analogous to Venus' love for her son? The detail, and the description of the children playing about the wolf's teats, are not in Livy, and recall the lines from *Georg.* II quoted at 412–13n., themselves modelled on another famous passage of Lucretius, 3.894–9 (see Kenney's n.). The effect of the language here is to convey a sense of maternal devotion which goes beyond the simple requirements of a picturesque legend and sets up a correspondence with the portrait of the Roman matron at 412–13. It is possible that V. wanted to counter

(by a characteristic piece of literary idealisation) a discreditable and late piece of etymological rationalisation which turned the *lupa* into a temple prostitute: cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* 4.3, H. D. Jocelyn, 'Urbs Augurio Augusto Condita', *PCPS* 197 (1971) 44–74.

635–8 *Scene 2.* The Rape of the Sabine Women. Cf. Livy 1.9, D.H. 2.30. This Romulean dynastic coup was traditionally associated with the asylum, which, with the Lupercal, marked the beginning of the walk (see 342–4n.). See also 510n., where a parallel is noted with Evander's marriage to a Sabine woman, and cf. the 'political' alliance of Aen. himself with Lavinia. The story may have been influenced by Paris' 'rape' of Helen: many Roman myths show traces of assimilation to Greek models. The purpose of all these 'marriages' is to found a dynasty (only Evander fails since his son is killed); Aen. and the reader may recall Creusa's words at 2.783 (*illic res* is echoed at 626): *illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx | parta tibi.*

The 'rape' traditionally occurred during the celebration of the Consualia, games instituted by Romulus and held in Aug. and Dec. in honour of Neptunus Equester: see Warde Fowler, *The Roman festivals* 206–9, and Ogilvie 66–7: 'the connexion between the Consualia and the Rape has not yet been satisfactorily explained'. V. here seems to be confusing the Consualia with the *ludi magni*, traditionally instituted in the reign of Ancus, when the Circus Maximus was supposed to have been laid out: see Livy 1.35, where it is noted that these games also included horse-races (Neptune was god of horses). Both games were probably of Etruscan origin: see Ogilvie 149, 327.

635 nec procul hinc: a variant of the connective formula *haud procul hinc* used at 478, 603, in reference to Caere (where Aen. now is): cf. 642, and see also 637, 639nn.

Romam: the name of the city occurs seven times in the poem.

sine more 'in an uncivilised manner' (i.e. without any properly established precedent): cf. 316n. In fact, D.H. goes out of his way to explain the 'rape' as an old Greek custom (ἔθος), a kind of marriage-contract ritual. (The institution of the asylum was itself of Greek origin: see 342–4n.)

636 consessu caueae 'when everyone was at the stadium': also at 5.340 and cf. Lucretius 4.78 *consessum caueai.*

637–8 Down to the fourth-foot caesura, there is an exact correspondence in the metrical disposition of verbal units in these two lines (*addiderat* ~ *Romulidis*, *subitoque* ~ *Tatioque*, *nouum* ~ *seni*).

637 addiderat: another reminder that we are supposed to be looking at a work of art: so, too, the formulas noted at 635, and cf. *fecerat* (628, 630), *aspiceres* (650), *extuderat* (665), *addit* (666), *cernere erat* (676), *finxerat* (726). See also 639n. The verb here takes both the direct accusatives which precede it (*Romam*, *Sabinas*) and the infinitive construction which follows (cf. 630–1): 'he had also put in Rome, the rape of the Sabines and the war which suddenly flared up as a result...'.

638 The rape of the Sabine women led to war between the 'sons of Romulus' and the Sabines under their king Titus Tatius: again, the situation is parallel with that between Aen. and Latinus. After the war (see next scene) the two elements united and the Romans took the name Quirites, supposedly after Cures, Titus' birthplace (Livy 1.13, Ogilvie 71), just as in *Aen.* 12.824–8 the Trojans take the name of the Latins. The joint rule of Romulus and Titus, like that of Aeneas and Latinus, was invented to provide a legendary paradigm for the Roman concept of rule by duumvirate, of which an even remoter mythical model was the rule of Saturn and Janus (355–7).

Romulidis: used by Lucretius 4.683. V. deliberately uses both this title and *Aeneadae* (648) to emphasise the nation's dual ancestry.

seueris: at 6.811 they are called *paruis*. As with Evander, V. wants to emphasise the harsh simplicity of Rome's early 'fathers'. The Sabines were said (Cato *apud* Servius) to have descended from a Spartan.

639–41 *Scene 3*. Treaty between the Romans and Sabines. The sacrifice of a sow at the solemnisation of treaties is mentioned by Livy 1.24.8, in connection with a later treaty between Tullus and the Albans: 'nec ullius uetustior foederis memoria est', says Livy, adding that all treaties are solemnised in the same way. The Roman rite Aen. now sees will be paradigmatically solemnised between himself and Latinus at 12.169ff. and will include the sacrifice of a pig. Aen. and the reader will also here recall the sow recently sacrificed to Juno, 8.84ff., which was in itself a gesture of peace.

The making of treaties, like the declaration of war, was carried out by priests called *fetiales*: in this respect, both Aeneas and Romulus are types of Augustus, to whom this *ius* was extended (Ehrenberg and Jones 364, Binder 175). Characteristically, the Romans formalised the making of peace and war as religious ceremonies: for the ritual opening of the gates of the temple of Janus see 7.610ff. (Introd. 2 (iv)).

639 In changing from *oratio obliqua* to *oratio recta*, Virgil drops the illusion of describing an artefact and modulates into historical narrative, the temporal connective *post* replacing spatial connectives such as *haud procul hinc*.

640 Iouis ante aram: Servius refers this to the temple of Jupiter Stator dedicated by Romulus after the Sabine war (Livy 1.12, D.H. 2.50). There are analogies with Hercules after his victory over Cacus (269–72n.) and with Augustus after his victory at Actium (719n.). Servius also discusses the etymology of *foedus*: the sacrificial animal was struck (*feriri*) with a sacred stone (Livy 1.24), hence the cult of Jupiter Feretrius, whose temple on the Capitoline was Romulus' first religious foundation, dedicated at his triumph, the first in the annals of Rome (Livy 1.24, D.H. 2.34), and restored by Augustus (*R.G.* 19).

642–5 *Scene 4.* The Execution of Mettus. Cf. Livy 1.23–9. Fufetius Mettus or Mettius, dictator of Alba Longa, broke his treaty with Rome, which led to the destruction of Alba. The scene is thus thematically linked with the *foedus* of the previous scene and with the treaty-breaking in *Aen.* XII (see 540n.).

Mettus' punishment was to have his body dragged asunder by two chariots (symbolising his duplicity): Livy comments on a barbarism unique in the annals of Rome (in which, perhaps, V. saw Hector avenged, cf. 644n.). Yet in a sense his fate stands for the fate of all Rome's enemies (cf. the lines on Catiline in Tartarus, 668–9).

Livy (1.23.1) depicts the war between Rome and Alba as a civil war: *Troianam utramque prolem, cum Lauinium ab Troia, ab Lauinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent*: cf. App. A. Livy also depicts Tullus as a second Romulus (so too V. in 6.812–15 where he immediately follows Romulus in the pageant of heroes) who extended Rome's power by absorbing a neighbour as Rome had previously absorbed the Sabines.

The fall of Alba was chronicled by Ennius: his account may have been a model for Livy's vivid picture in 1.29 and also for V.'s fall of Troy (see Austin on 2.486ff.). A fragment of Ennius' account of Mettus' punishment survives, *Ann.* fr. 137–8 V[2]:

> tractatus per aequora campi...
> uulturus in spinis miserum mandebat homonem.
> heu quam crudeli condebat membra sepulcro.

643 'But then you should have kept your word, man of Alba.' Quintilian comments (9.3.26) on this combination of parenthesis and apostrophe. For the subjunctive (a 'past jussive') cf. 11.162, where Evander, speaking after Pallas' death, says *Troum socia arma secutum | obruerent* [sc. *me*] *Rutuli telis!* For the use of apostrophe cf. 538–40.

644 raptabat: also used by V. to describe Achilles' treatment of Hector's body, 1.483, 2.272.

646–51 *Scene 5.* Porsenna besieges Rome. Cf. Livy 2.9–13. Tarquinius Superbus, last king of Rome, was driven into exile with his sons shortly after the episode of the rape of Lucretia. They took refuge in Caere, the very place where Aen. now gazes on their story, and which is thus associated with the beginnings of Roman *libertas*, a theme continued in the following scene. Tarquinius was taken in by Lars Porsenna, king of the Etruscan city of Clusium: there is a parallel here with the help given by Turnus to the exiled Mezentius: see 492–3. Porsenna then laid siege to Rome and was ultimately, according to the canonical Roman myth, defeated, although there persisted an anti-Roman tradition that, like the Gauls later, Porsenna actually took the city: see 652–62, Grant 180ff. The story of how Horatius Cocles 'kept the bridge' (after the Janiculum, on the left bank of the Tiber, had fallen) is familiar from Macaulay's *Lay*. The exploit of Cloelia, a hostage taken by the Etruscans who escaped and swam across the Tiber to safety, belongs to a well-established Greek literary genre, the 'deeds of heroic women'. For V., Cloelia is an anti-type of the traitress Tarpeia, cf. 347–8. She and Cocles form a typical exemplary 'pair'.

646–8 For the rhymed line-endings cf. 203–4n.

648 Aeneadae balances *Romulidis* at 636. Cf. 629, 731nn.

649–50 'You could have seen in him [Porsenna] the very image of a man disdainful and menacing.' 649 is a strikingly dramatic line, combining chiastic symmetry with a 'leonine' rhyme, in which the two syllables at the third-foot caesura rhyme with those at the end of the line. Leonine hexameters became popular in medieval Latin verse, but are used sparingly by classical poets. Other exx. in Virgil are at *Ecl.* 8.80, *Aen.* 3.36, 4.260 (elision at caesura), 6.350, 10.756. The effect of the present line is onomatopoeic, conveying how exactly Vulcan's image has reflected reality.

651 uinclis...ruptis: the normal arrangement in lines of this symmetrical type is that of 2 (n.) in which the noun is placed at the end and the adjective at the caesura. Virgil may have reversed the pattern here for emphasis (it is the breaking of the chains, not the chains themselves, which is commemorated), and also for euphony, to avoid a harsh and awkward juxtaposition of *cl-* in *Cloelia uinclis.* Euphony may also explain the structure of 672.

652–62 *Scene 6.* The Gauls occupy Rome, *c.* 390 B.C. Cf. Livy 5.46–7. The story of how the sacred geese gave warning to the Roman general Manlius that the Gauls were trying to storm the Capitol is oddly described by Ogilvie (734) as 'the authentic stuff of history': the role of the geese seems as traditional and picturesque here as that of the wolf in the story of Romulus; their keen sense was proverbial (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.599 *canibus...sagacior anser*). These particular geese may have been kept on the Capitol for purposes of divination (Livy says they were sacred to Juno): according to Plutarch they were 'on the strength' (rather like the ravens of the Tower of London and the apes at Gibraltar). The survival intact of the Capitol was for the Romans symbolic of the survival of the city itself (*Aen.* 9.446ff., Horace, *C.* 3.5.12, 3.30.7–9), but in fact it may well have fallen at this time: an alternative tradition that it did so persisted and seems to have been known to V.: see 657n., and cf. the stories of Tarpeia, 347n., and Porsenna, 646–51n. These 'official myths', which patriotically (and dramatically) turned defeats into eleventh-hour victories, are a recurrent feature of Roman history and may have been partly fostered by family pride: thus the present story served to explain why one branch of the Manlii bore the surname Capitolinus. See further Grant 198–216.

This is the most elaborate and most fully realised of the scenes of early Rome. It forms the chronological and structural centre of the first part of the ecphrasis, midway between Romulus and Augustus, thus corresponding to the description of the Capitoline in Aen.'s walk with Evander (347–54), itself the longest account of a single location and the mid-point between the walk's Romulean beginning and its Augustan end.

652 in summo 'on top of the shield'; but there is a double meaning implied, since Manlius is also depicted as being on top of the Capitol.

654 A splendid line, wholly Virgilian both in its position (completing a tricolon to balance 649–51) and its construction (the alliteration of *r* gives the effect of bristling roughness, and the use of enallage in *Romuleo* yields a characteristic ex. of enclosing word-order). *horrebat* recalls *horrida* in the description of the Capitoline at 348 (cf. n. on *dumos*, 657): the Capitol Manlius defended was about midway in time between the simplicity of the Romulean hill and the grandeur of the Augustan, the emphasis here, as at 348, being on the former.

There is also a more specific reference to the *casa Romuli*, a thatched hut of the proto-historical *capanna* type (cf. Introd. 3 (iii)), of which there seem to have been two, one on the Palatine which Dionysius says (1.79) survived to his own time, and one on the Capitoline (attested in Vitruvius, 2.1.5, and for supporting refs. see Camps on Propertius 4.1.6). These relics were periodically restored, and *recens* may refer to such a restoration as well as (by a characteristic ambiguity) to 'the freshness and sharpness of Vulcan's work' (Conington). Such interplays of meaning between actual objects and events and their supposed representation occur throughout the ecphrasis.

The existence of two huts has confused some critics and led to unnecessary suspicions of the line: as Binder says (165 n. 82) the doubling is of no great importance to Virgil, what matters being the symbolic value of these primitive dwellings as types of pristine Roman simplicity. Indeed, the dual topographical tradition helps the symbolism, for although we are concerned here with the Capitol, the typological parallel between Romulus' house and Evander's is central to *Aen.* VIII and is secured by the repetition of *regia* from 363. Cf. also

Propertius 2.16.19–20 *atque utinam Romae nemo esset diues, et ipse | straminea posset dux habitare casa.* See further Introd. 3 (ii).

655 **argenteus anser:** again, the adj. suggests that Vulcan chose silver as the best medium for representing the bird (though cf. n. on *lactea*, 660), but to complicate matters further, Servius says that a silver model of a goose was placed on the Capitol in commemoration of the actual birds.

656 **canebat** 'gave warning': the geese acted as a war-signal (*cantus*, cf. 2).

656–7 For the near-rhyming line-endings cf. 646–8n.

657 **dumos:** cf. 348, 594. Again there is a topographical link between the events on the shield and Aen.'s own experience.

tenebant 'held course for', 'were on the point of holding': the figure called *de instanti*, used of an imperfective action, since the point of the story is that the Gauls did not take the Capitol. But the usage is strange, coming as it does only four lines after *tenebat* in its normal sense of 'held', and it seems likely that this is a covert reference to the alternative version of the story, according to which the Gauls did take the Capitol: cf. 652–62n., O. Skutsch, 'The fall of the Capitol', *J.R.S.* 43 (1953) 77ff. (= *Studia Enniana* (1968) 138–40). Ennius seems to have known this tradition: cf. *Ann.* fr. 164 V[2] *qua Galli furtim noctu summa arcis adorti | moenia concubia uigilesque repente cruentant* (echoed by V. in 658).

658 **et** is epexegetic: 38n.

dono: as we should say, the unexpected advantage of a cloudy night.

noctis opacae: cf. 10.161–2. Livy has *nocte sublustri* (cf. *Aen.* 9.373).

659 **ollis:** old form of *illis*, used by V. only here and at 6.730. For *olli* cf. 94, 594.

aurea...atque aurea: for the emphatic repetition, which does not dispense with the connective, cf. 699.

660 **tum:** here a co-ordinating connective with intensive but no temporal force.

lactea: the fair skins of a northern people, referring also to Vulcan's skill in depicting the contrast between the white necks and the gold necklaces of the next line.

661 auro innectuntur: a reference to the Gallic necklace (*torques*) which gave Manlius' son his cognomen Torquatus (cf. 6.825).

663–6 *Scene 7*. Roman religious guilds. Both the Salii (285n.) and the Luperci recall the first part of book VIII. The significance of the Lupercalia, held annually on 15 February, remains obscure (Ogilvie 51): its celebrants ran naked (from the Lupercal?) along the Via Sacra in what may originally have been a purification or fertility rite. For V. the interest of the ceremony was symbolic: in it 'the *humanitas* and *leges* of the city gave way to the *siluestre* and the *agreste*' (Dumézil 347); it represented Rome's pastoral, 'Arcadian' beginnings (see 341n. and cf. Livy 1.5, D.H. 1.32.79). The most famous historical occasion of the Lupercalia was that on which Antony offered the crown to Julius Caesar. The rite was revived by Augustus: see Suetonius, *Aug.* 31 *nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, ut...sacrum Lupercale.*

664 apices...ancilia: these ancient cult-symbols belonged to the Salii not the Luperci: since Aen. is looking at a pair of scenes simultaneously, the order of the various elements is not sequential; *-que*, *-que*, *et* are co-ordinates, the word-order being dictated by metrical convenience. The *apices* were wooden helmets with bits of wool attached to them; Servius says this explains the etymology of *flamines* (priests), '*quasi filamines*', yet another example of Roman fondness for aetiological word-play. The *ancilia*, borne in procession by the Salii, were shields in the shape of figures of eight (for the 'etymology' see Varro, *L.L.* 7.43). The original (eleven copies were made) was said to have fallen from the sky in the reign of Numa, who ordered it to be guarded as a talisman of Roman *imperium* (cf. Horace, *C.* 3.5.10–12). Thus the image of a magic shield appears on Aeneas' shield, which has itself descended from heaven.

665 extuderat 'he had worked in relief'; cf. 639n. For the sense-break see 6n.

665–6 The right of Roman matrons to ride in upholstered carriages when taking part in religious ceremonies was of long standing and is

explained by Livy, 5.25, as a reward for patriotism. Camillus had vowed to build a temple to Apollo after the fall of Veii, 396 B.C., but could not collect enough money until the matrons contributed their jewellery. V. does not specify what festival the matrons are attending: perhaps the Carmentalia (Binder 201–2) or the Matronalia. The *sacra* had been taken to Caere for safe-keeping during the Gallic invasion, and these lines may allude to their triumphal return after the Gauls withdrew: see P. T. Eden, *R.M.* 116 (1973) 78–83.

But V.'s purpose in including the scene here is, again, primarily symbolic: *castae* recalls the *uniuira* of 408–13 (see n.) and Augustus' moral legislation, while the *matres* appear again in the triumph-scenes (718), in which Augustus, like Camillus, vowed a temple to Apollo, in thanksgiving for another Roman deliverance.

666–70 *Scene 8.* Catiline in Tartarus; Cato in Elysium. L. Sergius Catilina, the notorious conspirator, was arraigned by Cicero in 63 B.C. (the year Augustus was born) and put to death, despite Julius Caesar's plea for clemency. Marcus Porcius Cato 'Uticensis' (Cato the Younger) committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of Caesar (both these scenes thus imply criticism of him, and perhaps a warning to Augustus): a *nobile letum* on behalf of liberty (see also 648) which became proverbial (cf. Horace, *C.* 1.12.35, 2.1.21–4). V. thus ends the first part of his ecphrasis with two *exempla* from recent history, the one a type of all Rome's enemies, like Tarquinius (649–50), the other a personification of the ideals of just and virtuous republican statesmanship to which Augustus (with Caesar's fate in mind) proclaimed allegiance: see *R.G.* 1.1, 34.1. Their function on the shield is to instruct Aen. and the Augustan reader, just as Milton's Adam and his readers are instructed by Raphael in *P.L.* as to 'what reward | Awaits the good, the rest what punishment'. The contrasting fates symbolise the everlasting workings of divine justice, and link the shield with the description of the damned and blessed in book VI. Catiline's fate also recalls the prologue to *Georgics* III (626–731n.) in which V. says he will depict on the doors of an allegorical temple (i.e. describe in a patriotic epic) Rome's heroic ancestors together with mythological figures of the damned. In depicting Catiline's torment V. probably had in mind the punishment of Prometheus, the mythological type of the revolutionary.

669 For the chiastic symmetry of this line cf. 63, 712.

670 secretos 'set apart': cf. 610.

dantem iura 'holding sway over'. The phrase does not mean that Cato sat in Elysium enacting legislation (see Nettleship's n. and Conway on 1.507, where the phrase is used of Dido) or that his function was to pass judgement on the dead for acts committed when alive. The model is Homer's Minos θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσιν (*Od.* 11.569), which means that he settled disputes, carrying out the duties of a ruler, wielding authority like the *uir pietate grauis* who, in the poem's first simile, calms the *furor* of the mob: *ille regit dictis animos* (1.148–53). V. uses the phrase of Augustus in *Georg.* 4.560–2 *Caesar... per populos dat iura uiamque adfectat Olympo*, and of the deified Romulus and his brother in Jupiter's prophecy, 1.291–2.

It is on the authority of this line of Virgil that Dante places Cato at the entrance of Purgatory.

671–713 The battle of Actium (2 Sept. 31 B.C.); the flight of Cleopatra. For the literary treatment see Williams, *TORP* 51–7. For the historical facts behind the official myth (the best ancient account is in Plutarch, *Vit. Ant.* 61–8), see Tarn and Charlesworth 113ff., J. M. Carter, *The battle of Actium* (1970) 200–7. Antony's fleet of around 230 ships was anchored in the Gulf of Ambracia (675n.); he had no wish to leave shelter and engage the superior navy of Augustus (around 400 ships), but faced with the alternative of abandoning his entire fleet and attempting a retreat by land he decided to fight his way out of the gulf (691) and make a run for it, in the hope of saving Cleopatra's sixty ships which had sails as well as oars (708) and carried valuable treasure (685).

671–4 Cf. Homer, *Il.* 18.607–8, where, however, the river of Ocean runs round the rim of the shield and completes Hephaestus' work. Here we may envisage a circular band (sea, with dolphins) midway between the circumference of the shield and its centre: the scenes just described lie between this band and the rim, those about to be described lie inside the band (*in medio*, 675). The dolphins are from the *Shield of Heracles* 209ff. V. compares the mock-battle of the *lusus Troiae*, 5.593–5, to the play of dolphins. Like the other creatures in book VIII (the sow, the wolf, the geese) the dolphins are a friendly and favourable portent.

671 ibat: of the representation of an inanimate object having continuance, course or extension: cf. the English use of 'run' (*OED* s.v. 30) to describe, e.g., a frieze. The use of *ibat* at 726 is comparable, but a more complex set of meanings is there involved.

672 sed indicates that Vulcan was able to render the white tops of the waves (cf. 660n.).

caérula: neut. pl. noun (= *maria*), cf. 3.208 (= 4.583). For the word-order *fluctu*...*caerula cano* cf. 651n.

673 argento clari 'gleaming in silver'.

circum...in orbem: presumably the dolphins were shown gambolling in circles (see 671–4n.) and were also shown at intervals in the circular band of the ocean.

674 uerrebant...secabant: for the assonance cf. 649–50n.

675 Actia bella: for the 'poetic plural' see 294–5n.

Actium is a promontory in the Ambracian Gulf in Acarnania, Greece, famous for its temple of Apollo. Aeneas himself visited it and celebrated games there at 3.274–80, and also dedicated a shield to Apollo. Virgil continues this typological parallel between Aen. and Augustus at 677, 679, 720–2. For another prefiguration of VIII in III, see 43–6.

676 cernere erat 'there was visible'; again at 6.596 (the Gk idiom ἦν ἰδεῖν). V. characteristically repeats and varies the formula in the following clause (*uideres*).

677 feruēre...effulgēre: V. here uses the archaic 3rd-conjugation form of these verbs. For *feruĕre* cf. 9.693, *Georg*. 1.456, Lucretius 2.41 *feruĕre cum uideas classem*... For *effulgĕre* cf. *fulgĕre*, 6.826.

Leucaten: Leucate is the southern promontory of the island of Leucas, 30 miles south of Actium. Both here and at 3.247ff. (see Williams's note and 8.675n. above) V. seems to have conflated it by poetic licence with Actium. Both places had temples to Apollo (as well as earlier temples to Aphrodite traditionally founded by Aen. himself, see D.H. 1.50, Galinsky 65).

678–81 This description of Augustus at Actium constitutes the structural centre of the ecphrasis. The highly dramatic syntax is

repeated in the three following lines on Agrippa: we may supply a verb such as *apparet* or *uidetur* with the present participles.

678 A splendid and majestic line: the use of enclosing word-order (28–9n.) is particularly effective. The name Augustus (used in the *Aeneid* only here and at 6.792) was in fact not taken by Octavian until 27 B.C.

Italos: cf. 511–13, 715. Augustus appears as leader and protector of the whole nation: see further Introd. 2 (ii).

679 Another famous line, echoing Aen.'s words to Dido at 3.11–12 (for other echoes of III in VIII linking Aeneas with Augustus see 677, 720–1): *feror exsul in altum | cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis*. But whereas Aen. had carried the gods from defeated Troy, Augustus carries them to victory.

The unusual metrical structure of this line is a close reminiscence of Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 201 V[2] *dono, ducite, doque uolentibus cum magnis dis*.

penatibus: the penates were small figures preserved in the temple of Vesta: *penus Vestae qui sunt introrsus atque in imis penetralibus* (Varro, *L.L.* 5.44). See also 11n.

magnis dis: this phrase may refer grandly but generally to the 'great gods' of the Graeco-Roman pantheon who are described as fighting for Augustus at 699ff. and who are to be thought of as symbolic presences in the battle. A more specific reference may also be intended to the Dioscuri or μεγάλοι θεοί ('great gods'), two large statues of youths with spears displayed in the temple of the Penates Publici on the Velia (restored by Augustus, *R.G.* 19) under the inscription 'magnis diis'. These deities came to Rome via Lavinium, like the cult of the *penates*: see Bailey 91–2, Fowler 111–12, Galinsky 164–6, S. Weinstock, *J.R.S.* 50 (1960) 112–18. Aen. is shown sacrificing to them on one of the reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustae.

680–1 These lines continue the typological link between Augustus and Aen. The latter's helmet was described at 620 as *flammas... uomentem*; cf. 10.270, where Aen. arrives by sea from his mission to Tarchon ready for battle: *ardet apex capiti cristisque a uertice flamma | funditur et uastos umbo uomit aureus ignis*. In the same passage, 10.261, Aen. is described, as is Augustus here, *stans celsa in puppi* (cf. also 115n.) and his fiery helmet is compared to a star (the Homeric model is Diomede's helmet, *Il.* 5.4–7).

Here, the double flame is associated with the 'Julian star', a comet which first appeared when Augustus was celebrating funeral games in memory of his adoptive father Julius Caesar. The star was taken to symbolise Caesar's divinity and figured as a heraldic device on statues (Suetonius, *Iul.* 88): Servius says that Augustus incorporated the star on his own helmet.

Henry, however, in a brilliant note on this passage, denies that Augustus is wearing a helmet at all: 'the Caesar must be distinguished from everyone else; everyone's helmet shines, everyone's helmet has a crest, but the Caesar must shine himself, the grace of God must stream visibly from him, the divine favour radiate on his vertex in the form of a star, as it had radiated on Iulus at the fall of Troy (see 2.682–4, 692–700), on Servius (see Livy 1.39) and on the greater Caesar...'. V. also had a Homeric model for the hero unarmed but with fire round his head as a sign of divine protection: Achilles so appears in *Il.* 18.214.

The fiery star links Augustus not only with the Trojan *gens Iulia* (the planet Venus was identified as Aen.'s 'guiding star', see 589–91n.) but also with Romulus as he appears in the *Heldenschau*, 6.779–80 *uiden, ut geminae stant uertice cristae | et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?*, which yields a parallel between Romulus' 'father' Mars and Augustus' adoptive father Caesar: Binder 226–30, R. W. Cruttwell, *Virgil's mind at work* (1946) 322–4.

681 aperitur 'appears' (= *se aperit*); also at 3.275.

682–4 The four lines on Augustus are followed by three lines with the same syntactical structure on M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who was in effective command at Actium and whose exploits *nauibus aut equis* are alluded to by Horace, *C.* 1.6.1–5.

683 arduus agmen agens: see 299n. The phrase balances *agens* at 678, *stans celsa in puppi* at 680.

684 'His temples gleam beaked with the naval crown.' The unique honour of a *corona naualis* or *rostrata* (a golden crown adorned with representations of beaked ships) was awarded to Agrippa after his defeat of Pompey at Naulochus near Mylae, 36 B.C. Again, there is a verbal correspondence with the description of Augustus (*tempora* here and at 680).

685–8 The four lines on Antony and Cleopatra balance the four on Augustus (both quatrains begin with *hinc*...).

685 ope barbarica 'with the riches of the orient' (see n. on 671–713). For the adj. cf. 2.504 *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi*; Ennius, *Andromacha* 89 *uidi ego te adstantem ope barbarica*. Riches are associated with Rome's enemies at 659, and with Aen. himself when at Dido's court he reverts temporarily to his Trojan or Asiatic origins (4.261–4, cited in Introd. 3 (ii)). See also 364–5n.

686 uictor: Antony's Parthian campaign was at best a doubtful victory: Syme 264, Carter, *Battle of Actium* 158–61. Servius says the word is used *ne Augustus imbellem superasse uideatur*.

rubro: not the Red Sea but the Indian Ocean: cf. Horace, *C.* 1.35.32.

688 (nefas): for the exclamatory parenthesis cf. 7.73. The bitter hatred felt by the Romans for Cleopatra is shown in Horace, *C.* 1.37.

689–708 The engagement of the fleets. This is in the grandest epic style, beginning with an echo of Ennius, *Ann.* 384 V[2] *uerrunt extemplo placide mare: marmore flauo | caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum.* See Binder 238–9.

689 reductis: they pull back their oars, rowing as hard as possible: cf. 5.141 *adductis spumant freta uersa lacertis.*

690 = 5.143.

691–2 Both Quintilian, 8.6.8, and Ben Jonson, *Discoveries* 120, comment on V.'s use of hyperbole here. Jonson says 'he doth not say it was so but seemed to be so'. The comparison also occurs in Dio 50.33. *Cycladas:* 'particular for general'; they were actual islands north of Crete, mentioned at 3.127, but no specific reference is intended here.

691 alta petunt: Antony's and Cleopatra's ships leave the shelter of the gulf and make a dash for the open sea.

693 tanta mole: adverbial (199n.), with *instant*, not, as Mackail argued, with *turritis puppibus*; the whole line explains and justifies the hyperbole which it follows.

instant: 434n.

695 arua...Neptunia: the phrase, like *campos salis* (10.214), has an archaic ring and may be Ennian. It is especially suitable here since V. is about to emphasise the role of the gods in the battle: see 699.

rubescunt: a cliché of epic sea-fights: cf. 6.87 *Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine*; Juvenal 10.185–6 *cruentis | fluctibus*.

696 sistro: the *sistrum* was a kind of rattle used in the worship of Isis: see Juvenal 13.93. Cleopatra is here said to have used it as a battle-signal (so too Propertius 3.11.43): a good example of the propagandist sneer.

697 geminos...anguis: for the twin snakes as instruments of death see also 289, on Hercules; a good example of the use of parallelism to point anti-types: cf. nn. on 711–13 (Nile and Tiber). The snake was the royal symbol of Egypt and was associated with the sun-god (Tarn and Charlesworth 139, Nisbet and Hubbard 419). Cleopatra traditionally died by administering a single asp (Plutarch, *Vit. Ant.* 85–6).

a tergo: Vulcan has arranged the scenes so that the snakes are behind Cleopatra, who is still unaware of her approaching death: see also 709.

698–706 The monstrous and barbarous deities of Egypt are here arrayed against the great Graeco-Roman gods. V. has adapted the Homeric theomachy, *Il.* 20.54–75. There is a resounding catalogue of Roman deities in Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 62 V² *Iuno Vesta Minerua Ceres Diana Venus Mars | Mercurius Iouis Neptunus Volcanus Apollo.* (It is perhaps worth noting that the nominative form of Apollo is metrically confined to the end of a hexameter.)

698 Anubis was depicted with a dog's head: cf. Propertius 3.1.41.

699 contra...contraque: for the repetition cf. 659. The Greek preposition ἄντα is similarly repeated in the Homeric theomachy, *Il.* 20.67ff.

Neptunum: here present not only as god of the sea (cf. 695) but as a tutelary deity of Troy who helped Apollo to build its walls and later to destroy them (2.609ff.). The gods, too, move with the times. Troy, *res Asiae*, belongs to the past; Actium represents the triumph of the west and of a new order. Neptune appears on a coin struck at this time: *CAH* (1st ed.) *Plates* iv (1934, repr. 1960), 198, Ehrenberg and

Jones III, 57, no. 11 (fragmentary dedicatory inscription after Actium). See also Suetonius, *Aug.* 18 *ampliato uetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum quibus fuerit usus, exornatum naualibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecrauit.*

Venerem: for her tutelary role see Introd. 3 (iv).

Mineruam: not here the old Italian goddess of arts and crafts, as at 409 (n.), but Pallas Athena, the militant deity referred to at 435, who played a leading part in the destruction of Troy but who turned against the Greeks because of the desecration of her temple, first by the theft of the Palladium (2.163ff., 9.150–1), subsequently by the kidnapping of Cassandra by Ajax son of Oileus (1.41, 2.403). Her role as Odysseus' guide and protector on his *nostos* also places her in analogy with Venus. She was ultimately transformed, as was Juno, into one of the 'Capitoline triad' of deities who protected Rome: Bailey 152–7.

700 tela: see 447–9n.

saeuit...Mauors: cf. *Georg.* 1.511 *saeuit toto Mars impius orbe.* Mars is not included among the deities just catalogued but rages at the heart of the conflict which he symbolises, like Homer's Ares in *Il.* 5.701–2. Cf. *Il.* 4.439–41, where Ares is accompanied by Terror, Fear and Strife, 'whose fury wearies not, sister and friend of murderous Ares'. These two consecutive spondaic lines convey a sense of menace and of the epic grandeur of this 'Homeric' conflict.

701 caelatus is the Greek τετορευμένος (cf. 1.640, 7.792). *caelatus ferro* 'cut in iron': this metal suits the grim war-god better than the gold and silver hitherto employed by Vulcan. Bailey, 180, takes *ferro* as an instrumental abl., 'fashioned with the chisel', which seems very feeble.

Dirae: the 'dread goddesses' or 'Furies' (the name occurs in the singular at 12.869), the three daughters of Nox Intempesta, 'Old Night'. They were winged creatures of ill omen, angels of death, identified with the Greek Eumenides. They appear under their Greek name and accompanied, as here, by Discordia, at hell-mouth, 6.280 *ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens.* The Fury Allecto is sent by Juno 'dirarum ab sede dearum' to drive Amata and Turnus into the madness of war, 7.324ff.; an unnamed Fury appears to Turnus and Juturna in their last hour, 12.845ff. (see Fowler, *The death of Turnus* 149ff., Bailey 178–81).

702 **Discordia:** the personification of civil war. Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 266 V² *postquam Discordia taetra | belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*, *Dirae* 83 *tuque inimica tui semper discordia ciuis*, *Ecl.* 1.71–2 *en quo discordia ciuis | produxit miseros.* The distinction between civil war and legitimate, necessary war against an external foe is clearly made by Jupiter in his speech at 10.6–15, when he asks '*quae contra uetitum discordia?*' and says that Rome's time for a just war will come with the rise of Carthage.

703 **Bellona** figures in the traditional Roman *deuotio* recorded by Livy 8.9.6 *Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, lares, diui nouensiles, dii indigetes*... She may sometimes have been identified with Ilia or Rhome: see Galinsky 188 n.122. The bloody scourge with which she is here equipped is from Aeschylus, *Agam.* 642, where it is given to Ares.

704 **Actius...Apollo:** for the word-order see 28–9n. Apollo was the guiding deity of the Trojans (cf. 333–6n., 3.395 *aderitque uocatus Apollo*) and of Augustus (cf. 720n., Horace, *C.* 3.4.60–4, Propertius 4.6). His special epiphany also corresponds to Homeric precedent: see *Il.* 15.220ff., 16.700. Among his Homeric epithets are 'silver-bowed' (ἀργυρότοξος) and 'shooting from afar' (ἑκατηβόλος); Apollonius calls him Ἄκτιος (= *Actius*) at 2.404 and νηοσσόος ('ship-saviour') at 2.927.

705–6 **omnis...omnis...omnes:** tricolon with anaphora. The effect is highly dramatic.

705 **eo:** see 86n.

706–8 The alliteration of *us* is a favourite heightening device of V.'s: cf. 576, 4.459–61, 12.824–5.

707 **uidebatur** 'could be seen'. Cf. 650, 676.

708 Traditionally classified as an example of *hysteron proteron*: but the two actions should be regarded as taking place almost simultaneously. For the co-ordinate *et* cf. 85, 346nn.

iam iamque expresses the urgency of despair, as also at 12.754, 940.

709 This line is recalled by Ovid, *Met.* 13.74 *pallentemque metu et trepidantem morte futura*. For *pallentem*, the colour of death, cf. *pallida* at

245, and for the whole phrase cf. Dido at 4.644 *pallida morte futura.* The Augustan myth is perpetuated by Dante, who places Dido and Cleopatra together in the circle of the lustful, *Inferno* 5.61–3 *L'altra è colei che s'ancise amorosa, | e ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo, | poi è Cleopatras lussuriosa.*

710 Iapyge: the N.W. wind, favourable for the flight from Actium to Alexandria, began to blow soon after noon and was a decisive factor in Antony's escape.

711–13 The Nile offers refuge to Cleopatra. She committed suicide in Alexandria in August of the following year, 30 B.C., a few weeks after the suicide of Antony. Augustus then took over the province of Egypt. The personified Nile is here an anti-type of the Tiber: for the structure of 712 cf. 63.

714–28 The triumph of Augustus. See Williams, *TORP* 533ff.

714–16 V. devotes three appropriately magnificent lines to the opening statement of Augustus' triple triumph, celebrated on 13, 14 and 15 August 29 B.C. in commemoration of victories in Illyricum, at Actium and in Egypt. The poem's first mention of Augustus, in Jupiter's prophecy, 1.286–8, consists of a similarly grand three-line statement.

714 At: of an emphatic change of mood and subject, cf. 370, 608.

inuectus: Augustus rode into Rome (in a car drawn by four white horses), for this was a curule triumph. Livy, 5.22.7, uses the same word to describe the triumph of Camillus in 396 B.C. Ogilvie 678–80 notes parallels between the three *triumphatores* Romulus, Camillus (a second Romulus, according to Livy 5.49.7) and Augustus (cf. D.H. 2.34). According to Dio (51.21.9) Augustus departed from tradition in one respect: he rode at the head of the procession, followed by the city magistrates. The *triumphator* carried a branch of laurel and wore a laurel wreath. He was the earthly personification of Jupiter Capitolinus.

715 Italis: cf. 678.

uotum...sacrabat 'he solemnised an immortal vow to the gods of Italy' (as a thanksgiving for victory). The nature of the vow is explained in the next line.

716 Augustus began his programme of building and restoring Rome's temples in 28 B.C. He himself says (*R.G.* 20) that he restored 82 temples: for the number 300 see App. A.

718 **omnibus...omnibus:** for the anaphora cf. 705–6.
matrum: cf. 666n.

719 Refers to the *supplicatio* or public thanksgiving: cf. Livy 5.22.
ante aras: cf. 640.

720 V. is telescoping events: the famous marble temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated by Augustus on 9 October 28 B.C., having been vowed in 36 B.C. Aen., gazing in wonder at these splendours, would recall Evander's simple settlement, a contrast continually exploited throughout book VIII. Cf. Propertius 4.1.3–4 *atque ubi nauali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo*, | *Euandri profugae procubuere boues*. Aen. prefigures Augustus at 6.69–70 when he says at Cumae *tum Phoebo...solido de marmore templum* | *instituam*: Servius noted that Augustus thus fulfils his ancestor's vow: see also 721–2.

721 **recognoscit** 'reviews'.

721–2 Another typological link with book III (cf. 677, 679). At 3.287 Aen. dedicates a shield at Actium by fixing it to the entrance of Apollo's temple: *postibus aduersis figo*. Aen. then celebrates games, a prototype of the great 'Actian games' instituted by Augustus at Nicopolis, the site of his camp, in commemoration of his victory.

Spoils were commonly so affixed as votive offerings: cf. 7.183ff. where in Latinus' temple-citadel *multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma*, | *captiui pendent currus curuaeque secures* | *et cristae capitum et portarum ingentia claustra* | *spiculaque clipeique ereptaque rostra carinis*. The naval spoils in that passage are deliberately anachronistic and prefigure those of Actium, Augustus being thus linked with his indigenous as well as his immigrant ancestor.

722–5 The exotic names of remote peoples conquered by Rome caught the imagination of Augustan poets: cf. Horace's Roman Odes. For representations of such peoples in triumphal processions see the sculptures on Trajan's column. Servius says that Augustus built a portico 'ad nationes' adorned with similar images. In the closing lines of his great ecphrasis, Virgil contrives to make us see simul-

taneously representations of the triumph and the triumph itself: see 626–731n.

724 **Nomadum**: Africans, allied to Antony: the wandering tribes also called Numidians (4.41, 320, 535).

discinctos 'with loose, flowing robes' (like those of Bedouins). Lewis and Short give 'effeminate', but V. is not being contemptuous: he is emphasising the variety of the triumphal procession, and also Vulcan's skill in depicting moving or flowing objects.

Mulciber = Vulcan, only here in V. Cf. Milton, *P.L.* 1.740.

725 This type of hexameter (strong second-foot caesura, weak third-foot) is very common in Homer and the Alexandrians but comparatively rare in Latin. 679 is a line of the same type, apart from its irregular ending; 453, 549 are similar but have also a 'false ending' at the fourth foot (see nn.).

Gelonos: Scythians, cf. Horace, *C.* 2.9.23, 3.4.35.

726 **finxerat**...**ibat**: cf. 722ff., 671nn. All these things Vulcan had sculpted: and there was the river Euphrates, calm now by submission (Servius). We must here visualise simultaneously Vulcan's representation, the actual river, and its image being carried in the triumphal procession.

iam mollior undis: cf. Horace, *C.* 2.9.21 *Medumque flumen gentibus additum | uictis minores uoluere uertices*. There is also a parallel with the Tiber earlier in book VIII (87–9), where it flowed gently for Aen. (cf. also 9.817).

727 **Morini**: a Gallo-Belgic tribe living near the Channel coast.

bicornis: for the iconography cf. 77n. The Rhine is 'two-horned' because of its division into two mouths, the Rhine and the Waal. C. Carinas had recently quelled a revolt of the Morini and driven the Suebi back across the Rhine (Dio 51.21).

728 **indomiti** is balanced by *indignatus*: the people will not brook the yoke, the river chafes against the bridge, yet both have yielded to Caesar (Page).

729–31 *Epilogue*. Full of wonder, Aen. puts on the shield. On this closing triad, and particularly 731, see further Camps 104, Norden, *VLZ* 407–15. No passage in the entire poem better illustrates the

difference between V. and Homer. Whereas Achilles (*Il.* 19.18) delights in the divine gift as a beautiful piece of equipment, for Aen. the shield is not only an object of wonder and delight but also an 'Atlantean' burden (Introd. 2 (iii)) symbolising the future of the Roman nation.

729 **Talia**: the formal signal that the ecphrasis is finished.

730 **miratur** (sc. Aeneas): picked up from 619; the narrative is resumed.

ignarus: if taken absolutely (as at 10.85) then 'all unawares Aen. takes pleasure in the pictures of things to come'; if taken with *rerum* (cf. 627, 666) then 'though ignorant of the events Aen. takes pleasure in their representation'. The ambiguity (which would have disappeared had V. written *gaudetque ignarus imagine rerum*) underlines the fact that for Aen. historical events are merely pictures while for the reader the pictures are descriptions of historical events.

731 **attollens umero**: for the symbolism see also 136–7n.

famamque et fata nepotum 'the fame (reputation) and fortune (destiny) of his descendants'. For the combination of *fama* and *fata* cf. 7.79 (on Lavinia) *namque fore inlustrem fama fatisque canebant*. For *fama* in this sense cf. also 132, and 1.287 (Jupiter's speech) *imperium Oceano famam qui terminet astris*. When personified as Rumour it is customarily printed with a capital (as at 554). In 1.532 it means 'tradition'.

nepotum 'children's children': for the Romans' dual descent from Trojan and Italian stock see 629n. and cf. 6.756–8 *Dardaniam prolem...Itala de gente nepotes*. The tradition that Aen.'s descendants would survive goes back to Homer, *Il.* 20.308 (*Aen.* 3.98). Camps (104) points out that *nepotum* here refers not only to the Romans in general but specifically also to the Julian family, supposed to be descended from Aen. via Ascanius–Iulus and the Alban kings. The same ambiguity is present in the prophecy of the *penates* at 3.158–9 *uenturos tollemus in astra nepotes | imperiumque urbi dabimus*. Aen. is thus here, as throughout book VIII, the type and prefiguration of Augustus: see also Syme 459ff., Binder 270ff.

fata 'destiny'. This word, which occurs some 120 times in the *Aeneid*, may be said to represent its dominant theme. It is thus appro-

priate to discuss it at the end of the Commentary, although it has already occurred nine times in this book, at 12, 133, 292, 334, 398, 477, 499, 512, 575: cf. Fowler 121–7, and, for a full discussion, Bailey 204–40. *Fatum* (the singular and plural forms are used indifferently) includes the Homeric μοῖρα, the lot or portion of an individual, but usually with reference to his place in the larger scheme of things, as Aen.'s individual destiny is now identified with that of his descendants and the Roman people. Fate is by definition inescapable (cf. 334 *ineluctabile*): a man may be ignorant of what it will be (so Evander at 575), or it may be revealed by spoken prophecies, the original meaning of the word (from *fari*), still sometimes felt, as at 1.499: and cf. Jupiter's prophecy at 1.262ff. *fabor enim...et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo.*

Fatum can also mean the 'will' of the gods or of an individual deity (*fatis Iunonis* at 292n., *fato diuum* at 7.50). The main theological question in the *Aeneid* (which already exists in the *Iliad* and which Virgil transmitted to Milton) is whether a predetermined and divinely guided universe conflicts with the exercise of free-will. It is clear from 1.262ff. (and cf. 3.375–6 *sic fata deum rex | sortitur uoluitque uices, is uertitur ordo*) that Jupiter both foresees and watches over the course of history. A particular event may occur which he does not 'will' (just as Milton's God cannot be said to 'will' the Fall), but such events cannot alter the course of history. This is clear from the council of the gods in 10.6ff., where Jupiter says *abnueram bello Italiam discurrere Teucris. | quae contra uetitum discordia?* Venus asks how Jupiter can have allowed war to break out, since the Trojan entry into Latium was in accord with Jupiter's own repeatedly revealed will: *cur nunc tua quisquam | uertere iussa potest aut cur noua condere fata?* (*condere fata* is here used by analogy with *condere carmen*: cf. 340–1n.). Juno then justifies her action in stirring up war; Jupiter resolves the conflict with a declaration of impartiality: *rex Iuppiter omnibus idem. | fata uiam inuenient.* Fate is here personified, and means, not 'destiny' itself but that which brings it about (cf. the Parcae). For Jupiter's refusal to interfere in the course of events cf. Milton's God in *P.L.* 7.170–3 'Though I uncircumscrib'd myself retire, | And put not forth my goodness, which is free | To act or not, Necessity and Chance | Approach not me, and what I will is fate.' Though the ultimate 'end' is fixed, man remains free to achieve his own destiny, and must do so.

In *Aen.* XII (*uentum ad supremum est*) Juno is at last reconciled to the course of history: Jupiter agrees to her final anti-Trojan request, that when peace is made between Trojans and Latins the new nation shall take its name and language from the indigenous people, and even the name of Troy be expunged from history (12.821–8). The smile with which Jupiter accedes to this request represents Virgil's final expression both of Jupiter's omniscient 'prouidentia' and of his own deep love of Italy and his native language. Indeed, Jupiter's last words in the poem guarantee Juno her special place in the Roman pantheon as one of the 'Capitoline triad' of deities – *nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores*: her love of Italy is ultimately what is important, not her hatred of Troy (inherited from Homer's Hera), for it is Italian *uirtus* which will make Rome great and which Trojan *pietas* must acknowledge. Though Aen. kills Turnus and thus avenges a Homeric defeat, it is Italy that wins, for history is on her side.

APPENDIX A

THE PROPHECY OF TIBERINUS (36–65)

This prophecy (fulfilled at 81ff.) repeats that of Helenus to Aen. at 3.389ff. Like the 'eating of the tables' in book VII it is a foundation-myth. The white sow (female wild boar) with her thirty piglets was associated with both Rome's ancestor-cities, Lavinium and Alba Longa. Lavinium in the *ager Laurens* (Comm. 1) was traditionally the first Trojan city in Latium: see Lycophron 1253ff. (probably based on the fourth-century Greek historian Timaeus) and D.H. 1.55; in the latter the sow is pregnant when first sighted by the Trojans, then escapes and is followed for 24 stades to bring forth its young on the site of the future city.

Virgil places Aen.'s landfall in Latium at the mouth of the Tiber, and it is here, near the site of the future Rome not of the future Lavinium, that he locates the prodigy, transferring it from one sacred river, the Numicus, to another, more sacred still, the Tiber. Aeneas traditionally died by drowning in the Numicus, and the cult of Aen. as 'indiges' (cf. 12.794–5 and Goldmann, *C.Q.* 36 (1942) 43–53) grew up at Lavinium (as did the cult of the *penates*) on the model of the earlier cult of Latinus as Jupiter Latiaris originally associated with the Alban Mount. Both the Tiber and the Numicus are mentioned together at 7.150–1, 242, their Homeric 'types' being the Simois and the Xanthus.

But the early Roman historians, beginning with Fabius Pictor, associated the portent of the sow aetiologically with Alba Longa (the modern Castel Gandolfo) as the immediate ancestor-city of Rome. Virgil also alludes to this tradition, whereby the thirty piglets symbolise the founding of Alba Longa by Ascanius after thirty years: cf. Varro, *L.L.* 5.144 *hinc post XXX annos oppidum conditum Alba; id ab sue alba nominatum; haec e naui Aeneae quom fugisset Lauinium, XXX parit paruos; ex hoc prodigio* (cf. Comm. 47) *post Lauinium conditum annis XXX haec urbs facta propter colorem suis et loci naturam Alba Longa dicta.*

Once the fall of Troy had been dated (by Eratosthenes) at 1183 B.C. and the founding of Rome to the ninth or eighth century (Timaeus 814, Fabius Pictor 747, Cato 753) it became necessary to bridge the

gap between the time of Aen. and that of Romulus (who figures as Aen.'s grandson in the *Annals* of Ennius) by inventing the line of Alban kings who succeeded Ascanius (see 8.629). In 1.267ff. Jupiter tells Venus that Aen. will reign for three years at Lavinium (having married Latinus' daughter Lavinia who gives her name to the city by analogy with the Greek legend of the Trojan woman Rhome giving her name to Rome). Ascanius will then reign for thirty years, transferring his seat (it is not clear whether at the end of, or during, his reign) to Alba Longa; there the Trojans will rule for three hundred years (the period of the Alban kings) and Rome thereafter *sine fine*: yielding a progression 3–30–300–*n*. Historically, there seems to have been an Iron-Age settlement at Alba Longa around 1100 B.C.; but as with Lavinium its importance for the Romans of Virgil's day, and hence for us, was mythical rather than factual; Virgil refers to Rome's Alban ancestry at the very beginning of the poem (1.7); Propertius (4.6.37) hails Augustus as *Longa mundi seruator ab Alba.*

Numerological portents are as old as Homer, as witness the snake which eats nine sparrows in *Il.* 2.308–29, and the numbers in Tiberinus' prophecy are of purely numerological significance. The numbers three and thirty have always had 'magic' properties: cf. *Hamlet*, 'O treble woe, fall ten times treble on that cursed head!' The triad dominates the structure of the *Aen.* and often its syntax (Introd. 2 (i), 4 (iii)). The tradition of Aen.'s three-year reign at Lavinium is attested in inscriptions (Binder 162 n. 63). The legends of archaic Rome are full of threes and thirties: according to Varro there were originally three tribes (the word tribe was linked with *tres*, *tribus*) and thirty curias. Varro, like most ancient writers, believed in numerology: these particular numbers may have been theoretical in some way, or based on actual numbers used by Greek city-states. The cities of the 'prisci Latini', the original Latin federation, were traditionally thirty in number (Ogilvie 39–40). Thirty is also the number of ships possessed by Aen.'s Etruscan allies (10.213). O. A. W. Dilke, 'Do line-totals in the *Aeneid* show a preoccupation with significant number?', *C.Q.* N.S. 17 (1967) 322–7, points out that Tiberinus' speech is itself exactly thirty lines long, as also is the key section of Jupiter's prophecy, 1.267–96. To this may be added the fact that units of more or less thirty lines occur in VIII at 306–36, 337–68, 424–53. For three hundred as a round number see also

Comm. 716, on the three hundred temples said by V. to have been dedicated by Augustus after Actium, a number which we know to be wrong (*R.G.* 20): cf. also Austin's note on 4.510, where 300 occurs in a purely ritualistic context, in association with repeated triads.

See further Grant 1–7; Weinstock, *J.R.S.* 50 (1960) 112–18; Galinsky 141ff.; Alföldi 18–19, 236ff.; R. E. A. Palmer, *Archaic community of the Romans* (1970) 5–25.

APPENDIX B

VIRGIL'S HEXAMETERS

G. E. Duckworth, *Vergil and classical hexameter poetry* (1969), has classified the sixteen possible types of regular hexameter (i.e. those in which either a dactyl or a spondee is admitted in each of the first four feet but in which the fifth foot is a dactyl) and has established their relative frequencies in the works of the Latin hexameter poets. (This classification was partially attempted as long ago as 1903 by S. E. Winbolt, *Latin hexameter verse* 113–14). I give below the incidence of the sixteen types in *Aeneid* VIII:

Type	Incidence	Order of frequency	With 5th-ft spondee
1 dsss*	101	1	
2 ddss	90	2	
3 dsds	69	4	
4 sdss	85	3	
5 ssss	54	5	1 (line 345)
6 ddds	38	8	
7 ssds	51	6	
8 sdds	49	7	
9 dssd	38	9	1 (line 341)
10 ddsd	36	10	
11 sdsd	23	12	2 (lines 54, 167)
12 dsdd	19	13	1 (line 402)
13 sssd	24	11	
14 ssdd	16	15	
15 dddd	18	14	1 (line 679)
16 sddd	10	16	
TOTAL	721		6

(The three hemistichs, 41, 469, 536, and the spurious 46 are omitted.)

* Also the commonest type in Lucretius and Catullus 64.

It must be said at once that these statistics are of limited value, since they take no account of elisions, the correspondence or conflict between ictus and accent or caesural variants. Admittedly, Duckworth does note caesural variety in repeated patterns, but his basic classification means that lines are grouped together which, though metrically identical, may in other respects be quite different. A hexameter is more than an arrangement of dactyls and spondees; it is an arrangement of words. Nevertheless, these classifications yield one insight which has been little attended to: namely, the use of 'repeated patterns', the same metrical pattern in two or more consecutive lines. Simple repetitions of pairs of lines occur with average frequency in *Aeneid* VIII. Occasionally they seem to have been clearly designed to produce a particular effect, e.g. 271–2, the lines describing the Ara Maxima, which also have the same caesural pattern; so too have 694–5, 508–9, 701–2. Each of these pairs of lines forms a self-contained unit of meaning. More interesting than these, because more decisively indicative of Virgil's conscious artistry, is the use of metrical 'clusters', patterns of two or more metrical types arranged over passages of several lines. The following are the most remarkable clusters in book VIII: they represent some of the most carefully wrought passages in the book and, in a poetry composed for recitation, must constitute a significant element in the satisfaction which would have been felt by the attuned and cultivated ear. (The figures denote the metrical type.)

Simile of light (ll. 22–6): 10, 12, 10, 12, 12; arrival at Pallanteum (ll. 97–102): 9, 7, 9, 7, 1, 1; Saturn's reign (ll. 319–21): 2, 2, 2; start of the walk into the city (ll. 331–7): 8, 9, 8, 8, 2, 2, 2; the Cyclopes' forge (ll. 416–23): 10, 10, 4, 8, 8, 11, 11, 4; vision of the arms (ll. 523–9): 14, 13, 15, 11, 15, 13, 8 (concentration of uncommon types); Evander's farewell (ll. 564–6, 574–83): 7, 7, 7; 3, 3, 4, 4 (each pair with identical caesural pattern), 1, 4, 4, 8, 8. Finally, clusters are frequent throughout the Hercules–Cacus passage (on which see also Introd. 4 (iv)): particularly remarkable are ll. 222–32 (5, 16, 16, 5, 13, 13, 6, 13, 1, 1, 1), 243–6 (3, 4, 3, 4), 249–57 (9, 9, 16, 1, 3, 16, 1, 3, 1) and the conclusion, 265–7 (2, 2, 2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list consists chiefly of works cited in the Introduction and Commentary by the name of author or editor alone. In a few cases, to avoid ambiguity, an abbreviated title has been used: these are given here in brackets. References to 'Williams' are to his complete edition of the *Aeneid* except for books III and V, where the reference is to his separate editions of those books.

I. EDITIONS, COMMENTARIES AND TRANSLATIONS

Austin, R. G. *Aeneid I.* 1971.

Aeneid II. 1964.

Aeneid IV. 1955.

Conington, J. and Nettleship, H. *Works of Virgil.* 3 vols. 1858–83.

Conway, R. S. *Aeneid I.* 1935.

Dryden, J. (transl.). *Works of Virgil.* 1697. Reprinted in World's Classics series ed. J. Kinsley. 1961.

Fowler, W. W. *Aeneas at the site of Rome.* 1917. Observations on *Aeneid* VIII. (Fowler.)

Virgil's gathering of the clans. 1916. Observations on *Aeneid* VII.

The death of Turnus. 1919. Observations on *Aeneid* XII.

Guillemin, A. *Énéide.* Livre VIII. 1935.

Henry, J. *Aeneidea.* 4 vols. 1873–92.

Mackail, J. W. *The Aeneid of Virgil.* 1930. Text with brief commentary and long introduction.

Norden, E. *Aeneis Buch VI.* 3rd ed. 1926.

Page, T. E. *The Aeneid.* 2 vols. 1894–1900.

Servius. *Commentary*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen. 3 vols. 1878–1902.

Tilly, B. *The story of Pallas.* 1961. Selected passages from books VIII–XII, with translation, brief commentary and background notes.

Williams, R. D. *The Aeneid of Virgil.* 2 vols. 1973.

Aeneid III. 1962.

Aeneid V. 1960.

2. OTHER WORKS

Alföldi, A. *Early Rome and the Latins*. 1963.

Allen, W. S. *Accent and rhythm: prosodic features of Latin and Greek*. 1973.

Bailey, C. *Religion in Virgil*. 1935.

Binder, G. *Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis*. 1971.

Bowra, C. M. *From Virgil to Milton*. 1945.

Camps, W. A. *An introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*. 1969.

Propertius, Elegies: I (1961), II (1967), III (1966), IV (1965).

Cordier, A. *Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l'"Énéide"*. 1939.

Dilke, C. A. W. 'Do line-totals in the *Aeneid* show a preoccupation with significant number?' *C.Q.* N.S. 17 (1967) 322–7.

Drew, D. L. *The allegory of the Aeneid*. 1927.

Dumézil, G. *Archaic Roman religion*. 1971. Tr. by P. Krapp from *La Religion romaine archaïque*. 1966.

Ehrenberg, V. and Jones, A. H. M. *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*. 2nd ed. 1955. Includes the *Res Gestae* of Augustus.

Fordyce, C. J. *Catullus: text and commentary*. 1961.

Galinsky, G. K. *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome*. 1969.

Gransden, K. W. 'Typology, symbolism and allegory in the *Aeneid*', *P.V.S.* 13 (1973–4) 14–27.

Grant, M. *Roman myths*. 1971.

Grimal, P. 'La Promenade d'Évandre et d'Énée à la lumière des fouilles récentes', *R.E.A.* 50 (1948) 348–51.

Heinze, R. *Virgils epische Technik*. 4th ed. 1957.

Hellegouarc'h, J. *Le Monosyllabe dans l'hexamètre latin: essai de métrique verbale*. 1964.

Highet, G. *The speeches in Vergil's Aeneid*. 1972.

Hofmann, J. B. and Szantyr, A. *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. 1965.

Hollis, A. S. *Ovid, Metamorphoses VIII*, edited with introduction and commentary. 1970.

Knauer, G. *Die Aeneis und Homer*. 1964. (Knauer.)

'Virgil's Aeneid and Homer', *G.R.B.S.* 5 (1964) 64–84.

Lugli, G. *Itinerario di Roma Antica*. 1970.

Merrill, W. A. 'Parallels and coincidences in Virgil and Lucretius', *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Philology*. 1919.

Myers, F. W. H. 'Virgil', in *Essays classical* (1883) 106–76.
Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M. *A commentary on Horace, Odes Book I.* 1970.
Norden, E. 'Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit'. 1901. Repr. in *Kleine Schriften* (1966) 358–421. (*VLZ.*)
Ogilvie, R. M. *A commentary on Livy Books 1–5.* 1965.
Otis, B. *Virgil: A study in civilized poetry.* 1964.
Palmer, L. R. *The Latin language.* 1954.
Pearce, T. E. V. 'Enclosing word-order in the Latin hexameter', *C.Q.* N.S. 16 (1966) 140–71, 298–320.
Perret, J. *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome.* 1942.
Pöschl, V. *The Art of Vergil.* 1962. Tr. G. Seligson from *Die Dichtkunst Virgils.* 1950, repr. 1964.
Putnam, M. C. J. *The poetry of the Aeneid.* 1965.
Richmond, O. 'The Augustan Palatium', *J.R.S.* 4 (1914) 193–226.
Sainte-Beuve, C.-A. *Étude sur Virgile.* 1857.
Soubiran, J. *L'Élision dans la poésie latine.* 1966.
Syme, R. *The Roman revolution.* 1939.
Tarn, W. and Charlesworth, M. P. *Octavian, Antony and Cleopatra.* 1965. (Repr. of *C.A.H.* vol. x, chs. 1–4.)
Wetmore, M. N. *Index verborum Vergilianus.* Repr. 1961.
Wilkinson, L. P. 'The language of Virgil and Horace', *C.Q.* 53 (1959) 181–92.
Golden Latin artistry. 1963. (*GLA.*)
Williams, G. *Tradition and originality in Roman poetry.* 1968. (*TORP.*)
Wlosok, A. *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis.* 1967.

INDEXES TO THE COMMENTARY

References are to lines of the text

I. LATIN WORDS

2. GENERAL

Book VIII is one of the most attractive and important books of Virgil's *Aeneid*. It includes the visit of Aeneas to the site of the future Rome, the story of Hercules and Cacus, the episode between Venus and Vulcan and the description of the great symbolic shield of Aeneas. Mr Gransden's introduction relates this book to the *Aeneid* as a whole and considers the text in various aspects: the topography, Virgil's sense of history, his typology and symbolism, his literary style and his influence on subsequent vernacular poetry. The commentary discusses points of special interest and difficulty in interpretation, style and prosody and gives detailed explanation of the many allusions in Book VIII to customs, legends, traditions and historical events.

This is primarily a textbook for university students and sixth-formers, but it also contains material which may be of interest to students of English and comparative literature.

The editor is Emeritus Reader in English and Comparative Literary Studies, University of Warwick

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN 0-521-29047-3

9 780521 290470